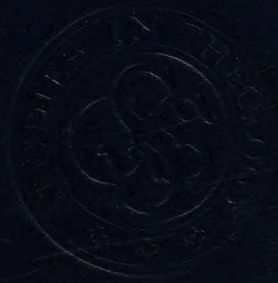

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TO THE

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MY REVERED TEACHER

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PREFACE

It is a frequent and well-founded complaint that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has been strangely neglected by theologians. Our theological text-books, as a rule, pass over the subject with a few conventional pages. Recent works by Noesgen, Gunkel, and Weinel in Germany, and by Dr. Swete in England, have revived interest in the study of it. My aim in the following pages has been to bring together the materials available, and to present, in my own way, a coherent account of them. I had to confine my treatment within limits defined by the series in which the book appears. Many aspects of the subject had to be touched upon lightly or not at all. I regret particularly that it has not been possible to include a chapter on the development of the idea of spirit in general, from primitive Animism, through the Greek ideas of mind and soul and the mediæval philosophy of substance, to the modern view of self-conscious personality. Much light would thereby have been shed on the growth of the idea of God and His Spirit. The approach to our doctrine from the side of psychology has only just been begun, and it promises a fruitful development in the future. I can only hope that the present study, with all its limitations, may contribute something to the gaining of a point of view for a fuller and more concrete apprehension of those facts of the spiritual life, which the Christian Church has generally indicated in its confession of faith in the Holy Spirit.

My indebtedness to published writings will be largely apparent from the references in the footnotes, but it is not possible to acknowledge one's whole debt to writers and teachers. I have used English translations of both ancient and modern writers, whenever it has been possible, but not without consulting the originals on important points.

It remains for me to express my thanks to my old teacher Dr. G. Buchanan Gray, and to my colleague, Professor J. Morgan Jones, both of whom have read through most of the manuscript, and the latter through the whole of the proofs, for corrections and suggestions which have enabled me to remove many defects.

T. REES.

BANGOR, *December* 1914.

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THE HOLY SPIRIT

CHAPTER I

THE SPIRIT OF YAHWEH

HEBREW life and thought, during the long period of which the Old Testament affords a fragmentary record, evolved some of the most exalted and permanent ideas of the human race. Among these, none is more unique than the conception of the Spirit of God, for although, under some of its forms, it may have parallels in other literatures, regarded in its totality, it is one of the peculiar doctrines of Hebrew religion. It may have had its origin in the common Semitic heritage of primitive ideas, but it shared in the unique development that made the Hebrews the religious teachers of the world. It was not a central, nor even a constant idea in Hebrew religion, but it emerged into prominence at several of the decisive crises in Hebrew history, and kept pace with the development of the nation's thought.

The idea of God was ever central and determinative in Hebrew theology. Its prevailing form in the earlier literature is that denoted by the terms Henotheism or Monolatry. The Hebrews worshipped only one God, Yahweh the God of Israel, but they believed in the existence of other gods for other nations. During the period of the Kingdom polytheistic tendencies still reasserted themselves. Either the worship of Yahweh was localised, as by Jeroboam, so that He came to be regarded as a plurality of gods, or the deities of neighbouring nations were worshipped

side by side with Yahweh, as by Ahab. But the higher religious thought condemned these tendencies, and carried the development forward to the ethical monotheism of the great prophets, and to the explicit monotheism of later Judaism. Yet in the literature, both early and late, survivals remain of the language if not of the ideas, of primitive polytheism and even of animism. The speaking serpent in Eden, Balaam's speaking ass, and Aaron's rod may be understood as survivals of animism.[1] The plural name Elohim for God, plural phrases put into the mouth of God (Gen. i. 26, iii. 22, xi. 7; Is. vi. 8), references to classes of superhuman beings or demi-gods, such as the Elohim (Gen. vi. 1-3), God's heroes and His army (1 Kings xxii. 19), the seraphim and the cherubim, represent survivals of polytheism. Even if the Spirit of Yahweh originally belonged to the same plurality of gods, in the Old Testament it stands out quite independently of all these, and takes a different line of development. While the demi-gods are separated more and more from Yahweh, and develop, some into angels and some into evil spirits, the Spirit appears as a form of His activity, or as His supreme representative.

Similarly, the idea of man, and particularly of the human spirit, in the Old Testament passed through a course of development, and evolved from the semi-material ghost of primitive animism into the free spiritual being who in the Psalms analyses his own inner experience as an individual over against God and all other persons. Concurrently, the individual differentiated himself from the tribal unit and acquired the consciousness of personal and moral responsibility. Men's ideas of morality underwent a corresponding change. Up to the eighth century the moral code was the tradition of the tribe. The great literary prophets of the eighth century were the first to enunciate the demands of religion primarily in terms of

[1] See H. W. Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*, pp. 46 f., and generally for the subject of this chapter.

morality, and thereby they gave to morality a deeper meaning, a higher standard and a wider range. The development in the conception of man and his conduct reacted upon the idea of God and of His relation to man. At first the relation was largely external, non-moral, occasional, abnormal, but it became increasingly ethical and spiritual, inner and immanent, until again, as the conception of God became abstract, His relation to man came to be thought of, in certain circles at least, as external and legal. And this relation under all its different forms was mediated by the Spirit of God as one of its agents. The idea of the Spirit therefore changed in sympathy with every development in the idea of God, man and their relation.

At first the activities of the Spirit were alien, strange and abnormal, but in a more ethical medium it became an inspiration, an inward monitor, an abiding principle, an immanent activity of God, until again, in a system of abstract ideas of God and man, the Spirit became a mediating hypostasis, outside both God and man.

I

A fuller account of the Hebrew idea of the Spirit must be gathered inductively from the accounts of its appearances and activities. The Old Testament contains no formulated doctrine. At some periods the Spirit played a prominent part in the national life, at other times it receded into the background. Both facts have their bearing upon the history of the idea.

1. The earliest appearances of the Spirit are those associated with the judges.[1] Of Othniel, the first of the judges, it is said, 'And the Spirit of Yahweh came upon him, and he judged Israel, and he went out to war, and Yahweh delivered Cushan-Rishathaim, King of Mesopo-

[1] In Num. xi. 17, 25, 26 the phenomena are carried back to an earlier period, but the passage probably reflects the ideas of a later time.

tamia into his hand' (Jud. iii. 10). Gideon and Jephthah were similarly endowed and moved by the Spirit (vi. 34, xi. 29). Samson's endowment was more permanent. The Spirit was the source of his abnormal strength, as well as the inspiration of the rage with which he fell upon his enemies. 'The Spirit of Yahweh first stirred him up in the Camp of Dan' (xiii. 25), which suggests a frequent recurrence of exploits inspired by the Spirit. Four of them are recorded. At Timnath 'the Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon him' and he rent a lion (xiv. 6). 'The Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon him and he went down to Ashkelon and smote thirty men' of the Philistines in a private quarrel (xiv. 19). At Lehi 'the Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon him,' and he burst his bonds and smote a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (xv. 14). In all these cases, the common feature in the action of the Spirit was that it stirred up the fighting passion. It also endowed Othniel, Gideon and Jephthah with the qualities of leadership, and their absence in Samson was compensated by his superhuman strength. Not only is the range of the Spirit's action here very narrow, but other functions ascribed to it at a later period are attributed to other agents in this literature. Yahweh himself sent a prophet to the children of Israel to rebuke them for disobedience (vi. 8 ff.), and he communicated his mind to them and to Gideon and Deborah and to Manoah and his wife through the angel or messenger of Yahweh (ii. 1, v. 23, xiii. 3 ff.).

2. In the stories of Saul and David, the Spirit acts in the two spheres of prophecy and kingship. It seems to have belonged originally to the prophetic order, as did also the authority and function of the judges, according to these narratives. But when the latter office was absorbed in the new kingship, a share in the possession of the Spirit passed also to the king. When Saul had been anointed king by Samuel, he obtained certain signs confirming his appointment; he met a band of prophets

playing upon a variety of musical instruments and 'prophesying'; the Spirit of Yahweh, or of God, came mightily upon him; he also 'prophesied,' and he was turned into another man, or God gave him another heart (1 Sam. x. 5-10). The result of the change was that he, like the judges, was filled with the passion of war and endowed with the gift of leadership (xi. 6). Of David it is simply said that after he had been anointed by Samuel, 'the Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon him from that day forward' (xvi. 13), and in the meantime it had departed from Saul (xvi. 14), although in an hour of renewed ecstasy in the company of the prophets, it once again returned to him (xix. 23).

3. These prophets were bands of devotees of Yahweh. Their prophetic acts consisted in singing, shouting and dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments, which produced a state of excitement, fervour and frenzy (xix. 23, 24) like that of the modern dervish or Pentecostal dancer.[1] But the prophet also possessed supernatural knowledge of that which happened at a distance or would happen in the future (x. 2 ff., xv. 11; cf. Num. xxiv. 2 ff.), and people went to him to 'inquire of God' (1 Sam. ix. 9).[2] These gifts of prophecy are not in so many words traced to the agency of the Spirit, nor is it stated that Samuel himself possessed the Spirit, but both are reasonable inferences. The endowment of Saul and David with the Spirit was closely associated with Samuel and the prophets, and Samuel was head of the school of the prophets (xix. 20).

It is not improbable that this prophetic frenzy was the earliest phenomenon ascribed to the agency of the Spirit. It would strike the primitive mind as requiring a supernatural explanation more than the soldier's passion, the leader's inspiration or the seer's foresight. Saul's moods of homicidal madness were similar phenomena, which these narratives trace to an evil spirit from Yahweh

[1] G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve*, i. p. 21.
[2] A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, iv. and v.

(xvi. 14, xix. 9) or from God (xvi. 15, 16, 23, xviii. 10). Similarly, the quarrel between Abimelech and the men of Shechem was explained as the work of 'an evil spirit sent by God' (Jud. ix. 23). This evil spirit from Yahweh was distinguished from the Spirit of Yahweh, but it reveals the same process of thought; it was an analogous explanation of similar phenomena, and the difference was that of interest and attitude towards the phenomena.

The sphere of the Spirit's operations is much wider in 1 Samuel than in Judges, and it acts more directly upon the inner life and religious feelings. It is given to the king as it was to the judges, as a spirit of war and leadership, but it is the original gift of the prophet, manifested in the whole order as fervour and ecstasy, and in its higher members as supernatural knowledge of the mind of God. It may have also inspired religious poetry, although the earliest reference to such inspiration is probably of a much later date (2 Sam. xxiii. 2).

4. The emergence of this new order of men, the prophets, with their new kind of experience, attributed to a new agency from Yahweh, was a fact of great significance for the subsequent development of Hebrew religion. It introduced, or it had in it at least the germs of, a more spiritual conception of the means of ascertaining the will of Yahweh. Hitherto the priests had been the chief, if not the only, media of revelation. They sought the mind of Yahweh by ephod and teraphim, urim and thummim, lottery and soothsaying—all grossly material and pagan elements which survived long in the religion of Israel. The new prophetic order sought the divine will in the action of a divine agency upon the inner life of man. Although the new consciousness found expression in crude forms of emotionalism and frenzy, it was the germ that developed into the loftiest conception of revelation and religion in the Old Testament. Spontaneity, inwardness, the sense of divine action, rather than ritual, the external and the established order, were the characteristic

marks of prophecy at all its stages. Where the action of the Spirit is first manifested in definite religious experience, it created a new and a higher type of religious life in Israel.[1]

5. The understanding between prophets and king, which began rather intermittently with Saul, became more firmly established during the reign of David. The prophets Gad and Nathan were David's constant counsellors, who guided or criticised his policy as God's spokesmen. But in later reigns, when kings became disloyal to Yahweh, the prophets opposed them, and organised revolutions to depose them (1 Kings xi. 29 ff., xvi. 7). In the reigns of Ahab and Jehosaphat, the older type of prophecy assumed its greatest importance. The prophets took their boldest stand as leaders of a religious and political party, pledged to the exclusive worship of Yahweh, against the latitudinarian tendencies of the court. And their activities are again attended by the abnormal phenomena attributed to the Spirit of Yahweh (1 Kings xviii. 12, xxii. 24; 2 Kings ii. 15, 16). Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah are the representative types of the prophets of Yahweh. Elijah was pre-eminently the man of the Spirit, a revivalist in whose person a new influx of the Spirit poured into the history of Israel. He stood alone with Yahweh, a man of mystery and awe to all men (1 Kings xviii. 7 ff, xix. 14), and his relations with the regular schools of the prophets were slight and occasional. His abnormal acts and strange movements were due to the direct action of the spirit of Yahweh (1 Kings xviii. 12). Elisha inherited the spirit of Elijah and his wonder-working power (2 Kings ii. 15), but he stood in closer relation to the schools of the prophets (2 Kings ii. 15, iv. 38). Micaiah was a man of the schools, but it is implied that his message was given through the Spirit of Yahweh, even as the false prophets had their message from the lying spirit from Yahweh (1 Kings xxii. 19 ff.).

On the other hand, Yahweh had many other ways of

[1] G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 23-4.

acting and of revealing himself. Elijah stood before Yahweh and the word of Yahweh came to him (1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 1). The hand of Yahweh came upon the prophet and produced the ecstatic state (1 Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings iii. 15). The angel of Yahweh came to him (1 Kings xix. 7), and the voice of Yahweh spake through him (1 Kings xx. 36). These agencies may have been equated with the Spirit, but they also indicate some elasticity in the conception of Yahweh's manner of communicating His will to the prophets.

6. None of the great reforming prophets of the eighth century belonged to the traditional order of prophets. Amos, when urged to exercise his office where it would pay him, declares: 'I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son.' He was a herdsman called to bear the message of Yahweh to Israel which the professional prophets had failed to do (Am. vii. 14). Hosea denounces the prophetic orders:[1] 'the prophet is a fool; the man that hath the spirit is mad . . . as for the prophet, a fowler's snare is in all his ways (Hos. ix. 7-8; cf. iv. 5). "Isaiah, though, unlike Amos (vii. 14), he did not refuse the title prophet (viii. 3), was no prophet of the school."'[2] Micah vigorously denounces the prophets, because they cause the people to err, and, being without vision, they divine for money (iii. 5, 6, 11; cf. ii. 6, 11). The prophetic order had become a profession; they no longer spoke the mind of Yahweh nor opposed the people's disloyalty to him, but conformed to the corrupt ideas and practices of their time.[3] The new reformers therefore emphatically dissociated themselves from them and avoided their traditional methods and formulæ. They did not induce moods of frenzy with the clamour of instruments, and, while the hireling prophets were moved by the Spirit, they received their message direct from Yahweh. Amos does not mention the Spirit, and Hosea only in his designation of the unfaithful prophet

[1] But see Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, p. 64.
[2] G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, i. p. lxxxv.
[3] A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, xvii.

as 'the man that hath the Spirit.' Isaiah received his commission directly from Yahweh of hosts (Is. vi.). Micah alone traced his mission to the Spirit of Yahweh. He denied that the unfaithful prophets were messengers of the Spirit and claimed that he, in opposition to them, was 'full of power by the Spirit of Yahweh, and of judgment and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgressions, and to Israel his sins' (Mic. iii. 8; cf. ii. 7). The Spirit awakens in him, not a mood of frenzy, nor even jealousy for the name of Yahweh, but a conscience which condemns injustice and cruelty, and declares that Yahweh's 'words do good to him that walketh uprightly' (ii. 7).

It is an open question whether any of the passages in Is. i.-xxxix., where the Spirit is mentioned, came from the pen of Isaiah himself, or from that of some later, exilic or post-exilic, writer. As far as this doctrine is concerned, it is not impossible that the passages may have been Isaiah's, for their teaching involves no great advance upon that of Micah. In Is. iv. 4 it is said that the Spirit of Yahweh will execute judgment and exterminate all evil-doers, which the Spirit had also done in the days of the judges. Two passages are Messianic. The future Messianic king shall be endowed with the Spirit of Yahweh, a Spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and of the fear of Yahweh (xi. 2), and it shall be for a Spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment (xxviii. 6). The idea is at the same moral level as that of Micah, but more comprehensive. If the passages are Isaianic, they set forth for the first time an idea of the Spirit as the endowment of the whole intellectual, moral, and religious life of man. In the only other reference, the Spirit is practically identified with Yahweh. The people are reproached for seeking counsel and cover in Egypt rather than from Yahweh and his Spirit (xxx. 1).

7. Still more marked is the non-appearance of the Spirit in the literature of the seventh century. In Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Nahum and Habakkuk it is never

mentioned. Jeremiah's conflict with the false prophets was even more vigorous than that of his predecessors (Jer. v. 31, vi. 13, xiv. 14, 18, xxviii., etc.).[1] He therefore avoids their language and receives his message by direct communication from Yahweh. His formulæ are, 'the word of Yahweh came to me' (i. 4, etc.), and 'thus saith Yahweh' (iv. 3, etc.). Yet Jeremiah contributed a most important element to the subsequent development of the idea of the Spirit. His doctrine of the new covenant, of inner revelation, of the direct communion of God with all men, of the cleansing power of God's action upon men's hearts (xxxi. 31-35), was later identified with the action and experience of the Holy Spirit in the inner life of man. But on the whole the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries did not themselves associate the new ideas and creative forces of their ministry with the Spirit of God.

8. Ezekiel filled the forms and terms of primitive thought with the meaning of the new prophecy. He made himself heir to ancient prophecy and priesthood, and to the great reformers who were his immediate predecessors. The idea of the Spirit appears in his teaching under various forms, old and new. The Spirit lifts him up and bears him about as it did Elijah (iii. 12, 14, viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, xxxvii. 1). It entered into him and strengthened him to stand up and receive his message, as it strengthened Samson (ii. 2, iii. 24). The Spirit was the directing and controlling power in the vision of the living creature (i. 12, 20, 21, x. 17). It fell upon him and gave him his prophecy (xi. 5). Ezekiel, perhaps, did not use this language as literally as men did in olden times, for the Spirit acted upon him also in vision and trance (xi. 24). And he traces to the agency of the Spirit the inner moral experiences which Jeremiah had promised in the doctrine of the new covenant. 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new Spirit will I put within you . . . and I will put my Spirit within

[1] A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, xvii.

you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them' (xxxvi. 26, 27, xi. 19, 20, xviii. 31, xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 29). The Spirit's action is no longer abnormal nor limited to the sphere of the prophets. It is rather the renewing power of the normal and moral life. The Spirit of ancient prophecy, deepened, developed and moralised, is now exhibited as the unifying principle, the efficient cause and the rational basis of the reforming ideas, movements and aspirations of later prophecy.

9. The Spirit which was the power of the new life became also the inspiration of new hopes. It is promised as the peculiar endowment of Messianic times. It is associated with the Messianic hope both in its general and in its personal form. It stirred up Cyrus to restore the exiles (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra i. 1), and enabled Zerubbabel to rebuild the temple (Zech. iv. 6). The Spirit of Yahweh would rest upon the future Davidic king (Is. xi. 2) and upon the servant of Yahweh (Is. xlii. 1, xlviii. 16, lxi. 1). Yahweh will pour His Spirit upon the seed of Jacob (Is. xliv. 3), and it shall abide upon them for ever (Is. lix. 21; cf. Hagg. ii. 5). The pouring of the Spirit from on high will usher in the blessings, natural and moral, of the Messianic age (Is. xxxii. 15, 16). It will be a Spirit of grace and supplication upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Zech. xii. 10). It will consummate the religious revival of the future (Joel ii. 28 ff.).

10. When the Spirit had been conceived as the principle of the normal, moral and spiritual life, it was natural to extend its agency to the spheres of intellectual life and the order of nature. Intermediate between the early abnormal experiences and the later intellectual gifts, are the examples of the special endowment of individuals with the wisdom and skill of their office or craft. The endowment of the seventy elders with the Spirit that was upon Moses may have been a primitive idea, for the only recorded effect was that they 'prophesied' (Num. xi.

17-25).[1] Quite distinct from the primitive phenomenon was the Spirit of wisdom and discretion given to Joseph (Gen. xli. 38), to Bezaleel, the builder of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31; cf. xxviii. 3), to Joshua (Num. xxvii. 18; Deut. xxxiv. 9), to David as architect of the temple (1 Chron. xxviii. 12), and to the builders of Jerusalem after the restoration (Ezra i. 5; Zech. iv. 6).

Corresponding to the change in the manifestation of the Spirit was a change in the manner of its bestowal. The ecstasy of earlier times overpowered men's will and possessed them entirely. Balaam's prophecy represents an intermediate stage. On the one side he was compelled against his inclination to prophesy good to Israel, but, on the other, his prophecy was a rational message conveyed to him and through him by the Spirit (Num. xxiv. 2). Even the later prophets felt that their message was borne in upon them by the Spirit, but with the consent of their will and the co-operation of their intelligence and conscience (2 Sam. xxiii. 2: Mic. iii. 8). Although the Spirit was not the only medium of revelation for any stage of Old Testament thought, the two historical views of revelation are associated with it: the supernatural view according to which the Spirit compels or supersedes the human mind, and the rational view, that the spirit as immanent inspiration heightens and quickens the moral and intellectual faculties of man.

11. In the later story of Creation, the agency of the Spirit is extended to the whole framework and order of creation (Gen. i. 2), and other post-exilic writers recognise its operation in various parts of nature. It is the principle of life in man (Job xxvii. 3). It makes fruitful the seed of Jacob (Is. xliv. 3, 4), and restores life to the dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii. 10).

> 'The Spirit of God hath made me,
> And the breath of the Almighty giveth me life.'
> (Job xxxiii. 4.)

[1] See G. B. Gray, *ad. loc.*

It garnished the heavens and brought into being the denizens of the sea (Job xxvi. 13 ; Ps. xxxiii. 6, civ. 30).

II

1. The evidence so far considered shows that the idea of the Spirit was present in Hebrew thought from the earliest historical times down to the end of the prophetic period. Although the literary prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries broke away from the circle which preserved the tradition, it still survived in popular religion and in the established prophetic order. And during the exile, the idea was again appropriated by the new prophecy and impregnated with the new moral ideas and Messianic hopes.

The main course of development was along the line of prophecy, but occasionally, both early and late, the Spirit was thought of as inspiring the action of warrior and judge and prince, and gradually its range of activity was extended to include the poet's inspiration, the artist's genius, the reformer's message and the nation's hope. Finally, the whole moral and intellectual life of man, and the creative activity of God, were brought within its range. Regarded psychologically, the development proceeded from the emotional to the active, and from the active to the intellectual life of man. In early judge and prophet, it was a passion or enthusiasm that burst forth in abnormal bodily acts. In the time of Elijah, it inspired the courage of loyalty to Yahweh, and for Ezekiel it created a new life of moral obedience. In post-exilic times it became the principle and order of nature and the revealer of knowledge and wisdom. In the earlier period, its action was intermittent, sudden, inexplicable, explosive, but as it entered the moral and rational life of man, its action became more calm and habitual, more normal and rational. Yet at all times, it was felt and believed to be a transcendent supernatural power, coming upon man from outside, and even when its action was immanent and natural, heightening

and purifying the powers of the human mind, man still felt it to be a power not himself, above and beyond himself. Its acts were always religious, affecting man's relation with God. This is sufficiently obvious in the later period, but earlier, the wars of Yahweh, the triumph of his people, and their government according to His will, were of the essence of Hebrew religion, and the Spirit that effected these ends was therefore a religious power.

As the action of the Spirit became more personal and moral, its range of activity broadened from the national to the universal. Down to the exile, it was always associated with representative and national persons and movements. It appeared in the crises of the nation's history, and endowed judge and prophet and king for special national emergencies. In ordinary times its possession was limited to the official order of prophets, who counselled and supported the national ruler. Even after the exile, as the Spirit of Messiah, it is still a national possession. But when it is conceived as regenerating the moral life and endowing men with knowledge and wisdom, the conditions for its universal operation are already present, and that is partly realised in its agency in creation and nature.

2. In passing from the phenomena of the Spirit and their range and character, to inquire into the nature of their cause, we pass into a more speculative region. All the phenomena indicate pretty clearly that they were the effects of some active cause, of some mighty power. The Spirit was an activity or efficiency which was always moving, doing, producing. It moved mightily Samson and Saul, bore Elijah and Ezekiel from place to place, created man and gave him life and understanding. It is never presented under such categories as being, or essence, or substance. That would be a way of thinking alien to the Old Testament. 'It is in fact the divine working rather than the divine nature that the Hebrew scriptures regard as spiritual—that is as possessing a subtle, invisible

character comparable with the mysterious movements of the wind. The common doctrine of the Old Testament is not that God is spirit, but that the Spirit of Jehovah, going forth from Him, works in the world and among men.'[1] Yet God is wider than his activity. He *is* holy and righteous, compassionate and gracious. Nor is the Spirit represented as an abstract *actus purus*. It *is* even when it does not act. The prophet is 'the man that hath the Spirit' (Hos. ix. 7), and the Spirit rests upon the Messiah (Is. xi. 2). It is always a concrete object of experience which implies an abiding reality.

3. In the earlier narratives it was conceived, like the innumerable ghostly beings that peopled the realm of Semitic mythology, as an invisible personal being that flitted about from place to place, and its only distinction was a closer association with Yahweh. In the narrative of Elijah it was associated with the storm-wind, but it was also a personal spirit that could pass at its will from one man to another (1 Kings xxii. 24). It retains some of its ghostly features in Ezekiel, but here and afterwards it becomes more and more the direct communication of knowledge and wisdom, moral power and cosmic force from Yahweh. In its earlier form, the idea was involved in the semi-materialism that was inseparable from the animistic stage of thought. But it was never conceived as a mere physical force. It could be divided into parts and shared, and still remain one and undiminished (Num. xi. 25; 2 Kings ii. 9). It may have been thought of as wind, but as wind with a life and will of its own. Even in later writings, it is said to be *poured* from on high (Is. xxxii. 15, xliv. 3; Ezek. xxxix. 29), but physical terms in religious use had now acquired a highly metaphorical meaning, and the pouring took effect in the mental and moral life of men. Yet Hebrew thought never clearly distinguished between the material and spiritual, though some approximation to such a distinction may be inferred from the

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 61.

antithesis of flesh and spirit in some passages (Is. xxxi. 3; Eccl. xii. 7).

And when we say that the Spirit was personal, it must not be understood in the sense that personality had in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, or that it has in modern philosophy. The personality of the Spirit in the Old Testament might mean one of two things, either that it was thought of, more or less vaguely, as a separate being that acted with a mind and will of its own, or that it was a name for the activity of God, in which His thought and will were expressed.

4. That raises the question of the relation of the Spirit to Yahweh. As already stated, the Spirit was always felt to be a transcendent power or being, and it was never regarded as a mere subjective or immanent principle. It is generally designated as the Spirit of Yahweh or of God. Yet a theory has been propounded that it was not originally associated with Yahweh, that it was an older and more comprehensive idea, and that it was only subordinated to Yahweh by the growth of the monotheistic idea.[1] This theory presupposes the purely speculative hypothesis, that Hebrew religion developed from a polytheism in which Yahweh was only one of many gods. Yet it derives some support from the fact that the Spirit is not so closely associated with Yahweh in the earlier as in the later literature. Yahweh is often represented as surrounded by a court of heavenly beings (Gen. xxxii. 2; Is. vi. 1; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Josh. v. 14 f.; Job i. 6, ii. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 19), but the Spirit is not mentioned among them, for the evil spirit that came upon Saul, and the lying spirit that inspired Ahab's prophets, were probably different beings from the Spirit. Again the Spirit is sometimes referred to, not as the Spirit of Yahweh, but as the Spirit that was upon Moses (Num. xi. 17, 25), the Spirit of Elijah (2 Kings ii. 15) and the Spirit, absolutely (Num. xi. 26, xxvii. 18; Hos. ix. 7; Ezek. i. 12, 20). Yahweh also

[1] Volz, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f., 52 ff., 62 ff.

appears more frequently by His angel or in His proper person than by the Spirit.

Yet the Spirit stands in a unique relation to Yahweh. Excepting the angel of His presence, no other figure represents Him so often, or stands out so distinctly as acting for Him. And as author of prophecy and patron of the prophetic office, the Spirit had an important and established place in the religion of Yahweh. When prophecy in the eighth century realised the direct moral action of Yahweh as the content of its message, it spoke the word which Yahweh Himself gave it, and discarded the idea of the Spirit, but that idea was too deeply embedded in popular religion to be lost; and when it was again associated with prophecy by Ezekiel, it was conceived as the medium of the moral action of Yahweh, and as such, its association with Yahweh became more necessary, permanent and comprehensive. Although the Spirit is not yet the only form of Yahweh's activity, its range of action is as wide as His in the moral and intellectual life of man, and in the life and order of nature. In many passages in post-exilic literature, the Spirit is practically identified with Yahweh in so far as he has revealed Himself to Israel. In poetic passages it stands in parallelism with Yahweh (Is. xxx. 1, xl. 13; Hagg. ii. 5) and with God (Job xxvi. 13; Ps. cxliii. 10) and with His presence (Ps. li. 11, cxxxix. 7).

But in another group of passages the Spirit is again more or less differentiated from Yahweh, though it stands in close relation to Him. He owns it as His Spirit (Gen. vi. 3; Is. lix. 21); He puts it upon His servant (Is. xlii. 1; cf. Zech. iv. 6), and in His people (Ezek. xxxvi. 27, xxxvii. 14); He gives it to the prophets (Neh. ix. 20, 30; Is. lxi. 1); He pours it upon His people (Ezek. xxxix. 29; Is. xliv. 3; Joel ii. 28; Zech. xii. 10) and He sends it forth as the life of nature (Ps. civ. 30).

On the whole, the range of its activity is now represented as that of the personal activity of God. Its chief sphere of

operation is human consciousness, and its effects are mainly such as can only be traced to a being in whom the essential elements of personality are present. But the last group of passages quoted shows that the tendency to abstraction had already set in, by which the Spirit, at a later period, came to be regarded as a divine hypostasis standing between God and man. Three stages may be distinguished in the conception of its personality. It appears first under an elementary form of independent personality, like a ghost of primitive animism, acting as the agent of Yahweh. The ethical monotheism of the prophets gathered all divine activities into the concrete unity of Yahweh, and when the Spirit was brought into the system, it appeared as a form of Yahweh's activity. This is the element of truth in Volz's theory.[1] But a new process of abstraction set in again in Judaism, which tended to differentiate the Spirit into an independent hypostasis. In the sphere of religious phenomena, the conception of the Spirit of Yahweh served first to give unity and a permanent significance to the ecstatic elements in Hebrew religion. It related them to Yahweh and bound them to the service of His religion. As the religion grew more ethical, this idea preserved the continuity of old and new; it gathered into a new synthesis, esctasy and morality, prophecy and reform, and still related the whole to Yahweh.

In the sphere of divine being, the Spirit developed from being a ghostly denizen of the realm of Yahweh into the very consciousness and activity of Yahweh Himself. But ethical monotheism was itself an unstable conception. While the crude intermediaries of early Henotheism could not be restored, it remained necessary to find a working conception of the relation of Yahweh to men and to the universe, and the next stage in the development of the idea of the Spirit was an attempt to formulate such a conception.

[1] *Supra*, p. 16.

CHAPTER II

THE HOLY SPIRIT

1. JEWISH thought after the exile divided into two separate and distinct types. One grew up on the native soil of Palestine, centred around Jerusalem and the temple worship, was expressed in the changing forms of the Hebrew language and culminated in Rabbinic legalism. The other developed in the alien atmosphere of Alexandria, where the language and thought of Greece predominated, and where the Hebrew mind conformed to the fashions and assumed the forms of Greek culture. The Old Testament idea of the Spirit had little affinity with the ruling principles of either, and no great part in them. Yet both assimilated it to some extent, and both formed a link in the development of the doctrine. Palestinian Judaism was the environment in which Christian thought originated, and Alexandrian thought contributed many of the terms and concepts employed by the early theologians of the Christian Church.

2. Palestinian thought was the direct line of development from the Old Testament to the New Testament, and to some extent it overlapped both. Its record is found in some of the later writings that were admitted into the Canon of the Old Testament, in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic books,[1] in the Targums and Talmuds,[2]

[1] *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford, 1913), and separate editions of several of the books by the same author.

[2] The Talmuds include opinions of Babylonian as well as of Palestinian Jews.

in the writings of Josephus and in the first three Gospels. The relevant literature in the Old Testament includes the Wisdom literature, most of the Psalms, portions of Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii., xxxii.-xxxv., lvi.-lxvi., Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Zechariah ix.-xiv. and, probably, Joel. Some uncertainty attaches to relevant passages in the apocalyptic literature, because they may have been, and some certainly were, Christian interpolations. The Targums and Talmuds are Jewish and post-Christian, but they preserve many ideas of pre-Christian Judaism. In using the Gospels for the history of our doctrine, account must be taken of the possible influence of apostolic thought upon the earlier tradition. In Luke, for instance, there can be little doubt that the experiences and ideas of the apostolic age were read back into the history of Jesus Christ.

3. One of the characteristic features of post-exilic Judaism, it has often been remarked, was its poverty of experiences of the Spirit and of doctrine about it. The Talmud bewails the absence of five of Israel's treasures from the second temple: the heavenly fire, the ark of the covenant, urim and thummim, the holy oil, and the Holy Spirit.[1] This accords with the view of some New Testament writers that the Holy Spirit was first given in the descent at Pentecost (John vii. 39; Mt. iii. 11; Acts i. 5, xix. 2). Yet the period is not without its significance, negative and positive, for the history of our doctrine. On the one hand it revealed the kind of life and doctrine that tended to quench the Spirit; on the other hand the idea survived the adverse conditions of the period, and passed through the development characteristic of post-exilic theology, so that it emerges in the New Testament a very different idea from that of the Old Testament, and bearing upon it the impress both of the limitations and of the qualities of Judaistic thought. The period was pre-

[1] J. Lebreton, *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité*, p. 138; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des hl. Geistes*, p. 50.

eminently one of dogmatism and legalism. It was the first time, but not the last, that the dogmatic spirit denied to the Spirit of God any place in religious experience and thought. The dogma was the Levitical law. After Ezra, Nehemiah and their successors had restored the temple, and established the ritual and moral laws of the Levitical code as the uniform, final and God-given standard of religion (Jub. xv. 26-29; Charles, *Ap. Bar.*, xv. 5 *note*), there was no further need or room for the inspiration and guidance of the Spirit. The same fact under another form was that prophecy had ceased, and revelation, for the time being, had come to an end (Ps. lxxiv. 9; 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41). The Canon of the Old Testament was therefore closed, for whatever was written could no longer be the word of the Lord. Such books of this period as found access into the Canon, did so because they succeeded in passing under the names of inspired men of olden times, David or Isaiah, Solomon or Daniel. But legal dogmatism could not hold men's minds in complete bondage. It became evident that the law had failed both to bring about a high state of morality, and to safeguard the national welfare. Unsilenced conscience within and catastrophes without produced dissatisfaction with the law (4 Ezra vii. 77, 139, viii. 35), and lifted men's eyes to visions of a better future. Hence arose the apocalyptic literature. The apocalyptic writers 'not only challenged many of the orthodox views of the time and condemned them, but they also carried forward the revelation of God in the provinces of religion, ethics, and eschatology.'[1] And in order to acquire authority and exercise influence, they had to seek the sanction of ancient names, and their writings are therefore all pseudonymous. Professor Charles writes of the Book of Enoch, what is also true in varying degrees of the other apocalyptic writings: 'Some of its authors . . . belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character

[1] R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, II. pp. viii, ix.

of the period in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasion the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God, and when men were moved by the SPIRIT of GOD to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.'[1] It accords with this view that most of the references to the Spirit, and to spiritual phenomena in post-exilic literature, are found in the pseudonymous apocalyptic writings: in the Test. XII., in Enoch, Apoc. Baruch, and 4 Ezra. As in the Old Testament the Spirit was the peculiar gift of prophecy, so now when and where the prophetic consciousness revives, the idea of the Spirit tends to reassert itself.

4. But these features of post-exilic thought, the obscuring of prophecy and of the Spirit, are only concomitant phenomena of a more general trend of thought, centring in the abstract conception of God and of His relation to man and the world.

The exile had impressed upon the Jews the conviction that their calamities were due to the sins of polytheism and idolatry, which the prophets had denounced. Their fathers had assimilated Yahweh to be baals of Canaan, and had worshipped Him under the forms of graven images, and they had perished for their sins. There was a tendency now therefore to swing to the opposite extreme, and to set God, not only above, but apart from all created things, and out of all relation with all objects of human experience. The prophets had taught that God was one, moral, transcendent, and unlike all things created (Is. xl. 18, 25, xlvi. 9, lv. 8, 9). But in later Judaism the doctrine of transcendence was carried much further. Although the

[1] *Op. cit.*, II. p. 163.

doctrines of creation and providence, revelation and prayer, were still believed, the relations they involved were now much more abstract and remote. According to the primitive story of creation, God formed man and planted Eden (Gen. ii. 7, 8); in the priestly account, God speaks and the world is made (Gen. i.; cf. Is. xl.-xlv.); but according to the apocalyptic literature, He acts through the angels of the spirits of the elements (Jub. ii. 2; Enoch lx. 15 ff.); and the order of nature (2 Enoch xi. 4, 5; 3 Bar. viii. 4) and the destinies of nations (Dan. x. 13, cf. Driver's note; Ecclus. xvii. 17; Test. XII., App. I. viii. 4-6) are entrusted to angels. He still reveals what is hidden (2 Bar. liv. 5), yet not face to face as he spoke to Jacob and Moses (Gen. xxxii. 30; Ex. xxxiii. 11; Deut. xxxiv. 10) but in dreams and visions, and through His angels, His word, and His Spirit. Even in vision His face is 'ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible' (2 Enoch xxii. 1); His throne is beyond imagination, and His glory inconceivable (4 Ezra viii. 21). Men's prayers are conveyed by angels and presented before the glory of God (Tob. iii. 16, xii. 12; 3 Bar. xi. 4). His ancient personal name of Yahweh was too sacred for common use, and more abstract names were substituted for it, such as Lord, the God of Heaven, the All-wise, Almighty, All-seeing God. It was taught that His name 'had not been sent into this world,' but remained 'a hidden secret' (Mart. Is. i. 7; 1 Enoch lxix. 14), which meant that His essential nature was incommunicable.

5. The holiness of God was the Hebrew term for what is now called His transcendence. It denoted all those qualities in God which differentiated Him from creation, His essential being, His divinity. From the time of Isaiah downward, the holiness of God was affirmed by the prophets with persistent emphasis. He was the Holy One of Israel (Is. *passim*), her only God, and beside Him there was no other god (Is. xlv. 6, 22). He alone is the Saviour and Redeemer of Israel (Is. xliii. 11-14). Such acts as

belong to deity He alone can perform. And since the prophets conceived the relation of God to Israel as primarily moral, and His dealing with her as conditioned by righteousness, goodness and mercy in her conduct (Is. i. 16, 17; Mic. vi. 8), the idea of holiness in their hands acquired a moral meaning, which it did not have previously, and which it never again quite lost. But it participated in every change in the conception of God, and when in post-exilic times men identified deity with unapproachable majesty and transcendence, holiness acquired a similar meaning. It was partly a reversion to pre-prophetic ideas (1 Sam. vi. 20). The ethical meaning receded, and the idea of separateness and unapproachableness predominated. But God communicated His holiness to all that peculiarly belonged to Him. Indeed, to be holy and to belong to God were one and the same thing. The angels as the agents of God's activity were His holy ones. Jerusalem, the temple, with its furniture and ritual, were holy because they were the place and means of God's worship. Especially were His name and His Spirit holy, just because they were the name and the Spirit of God, and of all things the most intimately associated with Him. But the title 'holy' suffered the paradoxical fate of many other religious terms and titles; from being exalted and exclusive it became conventional, formal and almost meaningless.[1] It may be doubted therefore whether the term 'Holy Spirit' generally signified anything more than the Spirit of God, named in accordance with the conventional religious speech of the period. It only occurs three times in the Old Testament (Ps. li. 11; Is. lxiii. 10, 11), and in each case it seems to denote the presence of God. It appears about a dozen times in post-canonical literature, and in three places it may have some ethical force (Jub. ii. 1, 3; Zadok. Fragm. vii. 12), but in the other cases it is just a name for the Spirit of God. When we first meet the term in the New Testament it has clearly acquired

[1] W. H. Bennett, *The Post-exilic Prophets*, pp. 162-3.

the force of a proper name. Yet the adoption of the title Holy Spirit had two important consequences. It marked the assimilation of the ancient idea of the Spirit of God to the whole scheme of post-exilic theology; and it tended to give fixity and independence to the idea. To call anything by a proper name involves some degree of personification.[1]

6. The process of the personification of the Spirit fell in also with another tendency in post-exilic thought, the interposition of intermediary beings between God and the world. The doctrine of divine transcendence removed God so far from the world that, if His divinity was to have any practical value, and any force of conviction, He must find some means of governing the world and dealing with men. And this was found in an extensive development of the doctrine of angels. By a complex process of personification, certain attributes of God are represented as issuing out of His impenetrable nature, as the momenta of His self-revelation—His name, His word, His glory and His Spirit. His activities in nature and providence are delegated to angels, which stand forth as well-defined personalities, and the forces and elements of nature are all personified.

The belief in angels had always played some part in Hebrew thought (*e.g.* Jud. v. 23; 2 Sam. xiv. 17; 2 Kings i. 3, 15; Gen. xvi. 7 ff.); and there are hints of a great array of heavenly beings surrounding Yahweh (Gen. xxxii. 2; Josh. v. 14, 15; 1 Kings xxii. 19); but in earlier times they were elusive beings of whose nature and character very little could be known. In the apocalyptic literature, they stand forth as the most familiar and most clearly defined objects of the writers' thought. The Book of Enoch presents a fairly organised system of angelology. At its head stand the four archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel (xl. 1-10), or according to another account, they are seven, Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael,

[1] J. Lebreton, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Saraqael, Gabriel and Remiel (xx. 1-8). In the day of judgment God will summon 'all the host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophanin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on earth (and) over the water' (lxi. 10). 'And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel' (lx. 17). 'And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out' (lx. 21). God's most frequent name in this book is 'the Lord of Spirits' (104 times: Charles). Enoch saw 'thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand . . . a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits' (xl. 1). Similar passages might be quoted in abundance from the other apocalyptic writings, showing how completely the thought world of the period was dominated by the innumerable personified denizens of the supernal realm (cf. Col. ii. 18; 1 Tim. i. 4; Tit. iii. 9).

7. Another most important development in the angelology of the period was the division of the spirits into two great kingdoms of good and evil, and the rise of the doctrine of evil spirits which plays so large a part in the environment of the gospels.

In the early and late prophetic periods it was believed that Yahweh 'formed the light and created darkness, made peace and created evil' (Is. xlv. 7; cf. Amos iii. 6; Mic. i. 12). From Him came the evil spirit upon Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 14 ff., xviii. 10; cf. Jud. ix. 23), and the lying spirit in Ahab's prophets (1 Kings xxii. 18-24). In the Book of Job, Satan, though a somewhat sinister figure, still came among the sons of God (i. 6 ff.), but in Zechariah he is set in opposition to God's gracious purpose (iii. 1, 2; cf. Ps. cix. 6), and in Chronicles he is both hostile to Yahweh and independent of Him [1] (1 Chron. xxi. 1; ct. 2 Sam. xxiv.

[1] See art. 'Satan' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

1). In the apocalyptic literature we find a fully developed system of demonology, corresponding to the angelology. The chief of demons is Mastêmâ (Jub. x. 8) or Satan (Enoch liv. 6). Their first order is the Watchers (Jub. iv. 15), the angels who fell from heaven by their alliance with the daughters of men (Enoch vi.; cf. Gen. vi. 1-4); and their offspring became evil spirits or demons (Enoch xv. 8, 9; Jub. vii. 22), who afflict, oppress, destroy, do battle, and work destruction in the earth, and cause trouble to men (Enoch xv. 11; cf. Jub. x. 8). The gods of hostile nations are a familiar class of evil spirits among many peoples, and Israel so regarded the gods of the heathen (Jub. xv. 31; Enoch xix. 1, xcix. 7; Bar. iv. 7), and with them are sometimes associated the souls of the dead (Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, VII. vi. 3; Jub. xxii. 17; Sib. III. liv. 7). And as the spirits of nature and of the virtues and graces have their place among the angels, so are there among demons spirits of destruction and of every evil disposition in men (Test. Reub. ii. 1, 2, iii. 2-6).

In this way it was no doubt believed that responsibility for evil, and all contact with it, were removed further from God. As the doctrine of divine transcendence was a necessary corrective to the tendencies of primitive anthropomorphism to confuse God with His creation, this further process of analysis, which separated more and more from Him all the agencies of evil, served to bring into clearer relief God's moral purity and goodness.

8. But Hebrew monotheism had triumphed over polytheism without satisfying the needs which the latter had supplied. The one, supreme, remote, holy and silent God did not respond to the craving for communion with the unseen, nor account for the multiplicity and complexity of human experience, as the tribal gods had done. The latter therefore returned as subordinate and intermediary agents of good and evil. This natural process was probably aided by the influence of Persian and Greek angelology and demonology. The Persian religion had developed a system

of theology which, in many of its essential principles, resembled that of Palestinian Judaism. Out of an original monotheism, it had developed a dual realm of spirits, good and evil, each ruled by its supreme prince, which were the intermediaries of the divine activity in the world. The Spentā Mainyu, or the 'Holy Spirit' of Ahura Mazdāh, from whom all good thoughts and words and deeds had sprung, bore much resemblance to the Jewish conception of the Holy Spirit. But if Persian thought helped the development of Jewish dualism, with its angelology and demonology, its influence on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit must have been mainly negative, for the obvious reason that that doctrine itself had been forced to the background of Jewish thought, by the very development which bears such close analogy to the Persian system. Its place in the realm of spirits had been taken by angels and demons, and on earth by priest and scribe, ritual and law.[1]

9. The outstanding fact of the matter is, that in the whole literature of Palestinian Judaism, the witness to the Spirit is much clearer for the past and the future than for the present. For the most part it was either a memory of the past or a hope of the future; yet it would be wrong to say that there is no evidence of belief in its present activity.[2]

Its action is recognised in every period of past history. An echo of Gen. i. 2 appears in Judith xvi. 14:

> 'Let all thy creation serve thee:
> For thou spakest and they were made,
> Thou didst send forth thy Spirit, and it builded them.'

Similarly Gen. vi. 3 is repeated in Jub. v. 8: 'And he said: My Spirit will not always abide with man.'

The idea of the creative Spirit also appears in 2 Bar.

[1] J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (see especially chap. ix.); Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, pp. 167 ff., 303 ff.; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 322-4, 334-7; Volz, *op. cit.*, 174 ff.

[2] Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 144; v. Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

xxiii. 5, and seems to have been present in the original Assumption of Moses.[1]

The Spirit imparted foreknowledge and wisdom to many of the great men of old in Israel. Enoch was pre-eminently a man of the Spirit. It was poured upon him that he might reveal the future (Enoch xci. 1). He was raised aloft on the chariots of the Spirit to the Son of Man and the Lord of Spirits (lxx. 2). He foresees that judgment will come upon men because they deny the Spirit of the Lord (lxvii. 10). The Spirit of prophecy (*al.* Holy Spirit) came down into the mouth of Isaac and he blessed Levi (Jub. xxxi. 12). The Spirit of righteousness descended into the mouth of Rebecca, and inspired her to bless Jacob (Jub. xxv. 14). Joseph was a good man and had the Spirit of God within him (Test. Simeon xliv.; cf. Gen. xli. 38). Moses was a sacred spirit (As. Mosis xi. 16; cf. Ps. cvi. 33). God's Holy Spirit was present with Israel in the wilderness (Is. lxiii. 10-11). The Spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon Levi (Test. Levi ii. 3). The Spirit spake in Isaiah, and when he was being sawn in sunder, his lips spake with the Holy Spirit (Mart. Is. i. 7, v. 14). Hezekiah saw by an excellent Spirit what should come to pass at the last (Ecclus. xlviii. 24). Ezra prayed God to send into him the Holy Spirit, that he might rewrite the law which had been burnt (4 Ezra xiv. 22). Daniel had in him an excellent Spirit (Dan. v. 12, vi. 3), a holy Spirit (Susan. 45). Similarly in the Gospels, David is represented as speaking through the Holy Spirit (Mk. xii. 36; Mt. xxii. 43).

10. No less clearly is the Spirit conceived as the blessing of the future Messianic age, and the author of its blessedness. Most of the promises of the Spirit in Messianic times had derived their inspiration from Is. xi. 2, and except that the conception of the Spirit stands out more independently, the passages add very little to the content of the original prophecy. The following passage identifies the Spirit

[1] See Charles, *As. Mosis*, p. 106.

that had inspired the righteous in the past with the Spirit dwelling in the future Messiah :

'Because the Elect One [=Messiah] standeth before the Lord of Spirits,

. . . . . .

And in him dwelleth the Spirit of wisdom,
And the Spirit which gives insight,
And the Spirit of understanding and might,
And the Spirit of those who had fallen asleep in righteousness.'

(Enoch xlix. 3 ; cf. lxii. 3, lxi. 11 ; Ps. Sol. xvii. 42, cf. xviii. 8.)

Elsewhere, the Messiah is the 'new priest' :

'And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
And the Spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him,

. . . . . .

And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the Spirit of holiness shall be on them.'

(Test. Levi, xviii. 7, 11.)

The Messiah not only receives, but also bestows the Spirit ; a star shall arise out of Jacob in peace,

'And the heaven shall be opened unto him,
To pour out the Spirit, (even) the blessing of the Holy Father,
And he shall pour out the Spirit of grace upon you.'

(Test. Jud. xxiv. 2, 3.)

'And through His Messiah, He shall make them know His Holy Spirit.' (Zadok. Fragm. ii. 10.)

These latter passages are not free from the suspicion of being Christian interpolations, as certain other promises of the Messianic Spirit are certainly of Christian origin (*e.g.* Test. Benj. ix. 4 ; Adam and Eve, xlii. 5). But there can be no doubt that a new endowment of the Spirit was expected with the coming of Messiah. Further evidence of this is the fact that, according to all our sources, a renewed activity of the Spirit was believed to have attended

the beginnings of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. John the Baptist, though a prophet, did not claim to possess the gift of the Spirit, but promised that He who was coming would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire (Mt. iii. 11). The agency of the Spirit is alleged in the birth, baptism, temptation and opening ministry of the Messiah when He had come (Mt. i. 18, 20, iii. 16; Mk. i. 10; Lk. iii. 22; Mt. iv. 1; Mk. i. 12; Lk. iv. 1, 14, 18). Whether these be regarded as a record of facts or traditions that grew up at a later period, the influence of Messianic expectations may be traced,—in the former case, providing the interpretation of certain facts and phenomena in the life of Jesus as the work of the Spirit, and in the latter case, creating the traditions in face of the prevailing belief of the apostolic age that the Spirit was first given at Pentecost.

11. It remains to be noticed that the post-exilic age did not relegate the Spirit entirely to the past or future, but it had also some consciousness of its present working (Ps. cxxxix. 7). Even when the apocalyptists placed its action in the remote past, their visions and hopes were the products of their present experience. To have attributed them to the present action of the Spirit would have been heresy against the law and the canon. We have therefore here no record of experiences of the Spirit, and it is improbable that this period had felt any of the ecstatic moods which the Spirit had produced in earlier ages. Yet when it is said that the Spirit is poured upon Enoch (Enoch xci. 1), or that he was raised aloft on the chariots of the Spirit (lxx. 2), or that a strong spirit raised Baruch and bore him aloft over the walls of Jerusalem, in the manner of Ezekiel (2 Bar. vi. 3), it may be inferred that the writers of these books had some experiences corresponding to their words. Even memories and hopes reflect something of their own light upon the mind that has them. Moreover, a number of passages contain declarations of principles relating to the Spirit of general and abiding validity,

which the writers must have recognised. Joseph had the Spirit of God in him, and he was therefore compassionate and pitiful and without malice (Test. Simeon, iv. 4). The power of the Spirit moved the archangel Michael to a very human pity over the severe judgment pronounced upon the fallen angels (Enoch lxviii. 2, 3). 'Two spirits wait upon man, the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit . . . and the spirit of truth testifieth all things and accuseth all' (Test. Jud. xx. 1, 5; cf. John xvi. 8, 13). 'He that hath a pure mind in love . . . hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God (*al.* Holy Spirit) resteth upon him' (Test. Benj. viii. 2). Prayer for a clean heart becomes prayer for the Holy Spirit more than once (Ps. li. 10, 11; Jub. i. 21, 23). The human soul is described as a 'holy spirit' (Zadok. Fragm. vii. 12, viii. 20), and as 'the holy spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into man' (Test. Naph. App. I. x. 9). These passages, as well as expressions like the Spirit of truth, of faith, wisdom, patience, mercy, judgment, peace and goodness (Test. Jud. xx. 5; Enoch lxi. 11), reveal a tendency to confuse or to identify the Spirit of God acting upon man with the principles of truth and morality realised in man, which became a definite factor in the teaching of Paul (see chap. V. ii. 5).[1] This very confusion or equation of the Spirit of God with the spirit of man is evidence that the consciousness of the moral action of the spirit was a real experience. Another indication of the same fact is that the range of the Spirit's activity, where it is referred to the past, is limited to creation and to a mechanical process of revealing the future in dream, vision, and foreknowledge; but in the Messianic age its range is wider; it is the Spirit of wisdom, insight, understanding, might, righteousness, sanctification and grace. It deals with the whole range of the intellectual and moral life. And men's hopes are a better indication of their faith than their memories. When these writers pictured the coming age of wisdom,

[1] *Infra*, p. 98.

righteousness, and sanctification, as the work of the Holy Spirit, its qualities already possessed their minds as hopes and aspirations, and the Spirit that would realise them was a factor in their experience even though their theology could not admit it.[1]

12. It is probable that this element in Jewish religion was continued and developed in the circles in which John the Baptist and Jesus Christ appeared. It is evident that Jesus Christ was familiar with the apocalyptic writings, for He derived many of His terms and ideas from them. And the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit in the Synoptic Gospels does not materially differ from that of the apocalyptists, except that now it is represented as working in the present. The Synoptic teaching as to the range of its activity, the manner of its working, and the conception of its being, is at the level of Jewish theology. It was the agent of past revelation (Mk. xii. 36; Mt. xxii. 43) and the gift of promise for the future (Mk. i. 8, xiii. 11; Mt. iii. 11, x. 20, xxviii. 19; Lk. iii. 16, xi. 13, xii. 12), but it is not once suggested that the disciples already possessed the Spirit. Yet in a number of passages the Spirit is represented as already active, both before the birth of Christ, in the circle whence He arose, and afterwards, in His own public ministry. It descended upon Mary as creative Spirit (Mt. i. 18, 20; Lk. i. 35), and as revealer of the future it inspired Elizabeth (Lk. i. 42), Zacharias (Lk. i. 67), and Simeon (Lk. ii. 25, 26). An angel declared that John the Baptist should be filled with the Holy Spirit, with the Spirit and power of Elijah (Lk. i. 15, 17). Our narratives relate, not only that the Spirit attended the critical stages of Christ's history, but that He claimed its possession as the inspiration of His ministry (Lk. iv. 18; Mt. xii. 18) and as the power by which He cast out devils (Mt. xii. 28). Although Luke in this case substitutes 'the finger of God' (xi. 20), the context in all three Gospels implies the claim that Christ

[1] Volz, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff., 119.

worked through the Holy Spirit, otherwise there would be no point in charging the Jews with blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, because they attributed Christ's miracles to the agency of Beelzebub. And while it must be admitted, as already suggested, that all these traditions may have been the product of a later generation,[1] it is yet not an unreasonable alternative that the prophetic consciousness, which had awakened in the apocalyptic writers, had now grown bolder, and with the advent of two persons who were generally considered to be prophets (Mt. xiv. 5, xvi. 14), had claimed the power and authority of the Spirit that had endowed the prophets of old.[2]

The tradition of the Spirit also emerges in the Rabbinical literature, especially in the doctrine of the inspiration of the Old Testament. Every word in the Old Testament was held to have been uttered by the Spirit, and in it the Spirit still spoke. It also stood for ever as mediator between God and Israel. Some of the greater Rabbis were also said to have had personal experiences of the Spirit. But this teaching too may have been due to Christian influence.[3]

Even if it is rightly surmised that the consciousness of the Spirit was alive in pre-Christian Judaism, and that it grew stronger and more explicit with the coming of Christ, it must also be admitted that its circle was a very narrow one. There is no evidence of its presence in the official circles of the Sadducean and Pharisaic sects, nor in popular thought. While the wonderful works of Jesus led men, according to their feelings towards Him, to believe that He was a demoniac, or a prophet, or the Messiah, they never attributed His works to the Holy Spirit.

13. It must therefore be concluded that Palestinian Judaism, in the last centuries before Christ, was generally

[1] E. M. Winstanley, *Spirit in the New Testament*, pp. 121-30.
[2] Nösgen, *Der Heilige Geist*, pp. 38 ff.
[3] Volz, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 115 ff., 165 ff.

poor in experiences of the Spirit, though not devoid of them. On the other hand, the conception of its being had grown clearer and more independent. It was no longer an erratic and elusive activity of God, but a well-defined and constant figure standing forth from God, yet apart from man, with an independent position and name of its own. The period was one of analysis and definition, of abstraction and personification. God had been distinguished and separated from His creation. The whole realm of spirits, which presented itself in dream, vision and revelation, was distinct from the visible and sensible world. The spirit world was divided into two kingdoms, good and evil, and every force and element within each kingdom stood forth as an independent and individual hypostasis, spirit, angel or demon. Yet the Holy Spirit is not placed among the angels. It stands on the side of God, above and apart from all other spirits. It is included in the concept of deity. All other spirits are personified or hypostatised forms of the forces of nature, of the processes of providence, and of the dispositions of good and evil; but the Spirit is the very power of God, active upon the mind and moral nature of man. Although no hard and fast distinction is maintained between the Holy Spirit as spirit of wisdom and virtue, and the personified dispositions to wisdom and virtue in man, yet on the whole the hypostasis of the Spirit stands clearly out from the multitude of creature spirits which act in the realm of nature and providence. It has closer affinity with the personified manifestations of the divine nature, God's word, name and glory, yet it has a more independent position than these. They are only known as the word, name and glory *of God*, but it is known in its own person and by its own name. In Is. lxiii. 10, 11 and Ps. li. 11, it is still the Holy Spirit of Yahweh or of God, but in the apocalyptic literature it is also 'the Spirit' and 'the Holy Spirit' (Enoch xci. 1, lxviii. 2; 4 Ezra xiv. 22; Mart. Is. i. 7, v. 14). In the Synoptic Gospels the title Holy

Spirit predominates. The process of personification and hypostatisation is complete. It is no longer a personified attribute or activity, but a being who lives, acts, feels and communes with men in its own right. It creates (Judith xvi. 14), reveals (Jub. xxv. 14, xxxii. 12), and speaks (Mart. Is. i. 7, v. 14). The Israelites grieved it in the wilderness (Is. lxiii. 10), and the Jews who attributed Christ's miracles to the agency of Beelzebub blasphemed against the Holy Spirit (Mk. iii. 29 ; Mt. xii. 32 ; Lk. xii. 10), and the blasphemy was the unpardonable sin.

14. The group of passages last quoted shows most clearly both that the Spirit was conceived as a person distinct from God, and that the doctrine of the Spirit in the Synoptic Gospels is thoroughly Jewish. The unforgiving Spirit is unmistakably an element from Jewish theology. Unpardonable sins were familiar enough to the Levitical law (Num. xv. 30, xix. 13 ; Lev. xvii. 9, 10, xx. 3, 6, 20). The apocalyptic writings teach that the sins of the fallen angels were unpardonable (Enoch xii. 5), and that after the final judgment God will have no mercy on the Gentiles (Enoch l. 5). Judgment will come upon the kings and the mighty because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord (Enoch lxvii. 10 ; cf. xx. 6). In the teaching of Jesus as set forth in the Synoptics, there is, beyond the centre of light illumined by His filial consciousness and His knowledge of the Father (Mt. xi. 25 ff.), a penumbra of Jewish ideas, angelology, demonology, final judgment and eternal punishment, which He had not assimilated to His filial consciousness and its glad tidings to men. Out of the central light issued His doctrine of universal love as the nature of God and the law of human life. Therefore there must be no limit to forgiveness in man (Mt. xviii. 21, vi. 12-14), nor is there limit in the Son of Man (Mt. xii. 32), nor in God (Mt. ix. 13, xxviii. 19 ; Lk. xv., xix. 10). 'Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men ; but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven' (Mt. xii. 31). The Spirit remains

at the Jewish standpoint, and will not forgive the error or perversity that attributes its acts to Beelzebub. It is not yet assimilated to the doctrine of salvation which Jesus Christ evolved out of His own consciousness of the Father's boundless love and mercy (Mt. v. 45-48).[1]

15. The neglect of the doctrine of the Spirit by the greater prophets and by the Psalmists had had the effect of arresting its moral development. It expressed the power and wisdom and righteousness of God, but was scarcely brought into relation with His mercy and long-suffering. And this moral limitation of the idea also involved a serious metaphysical limitation. The Spirit was never interpreted and articulated in terms of the inmost personal relations of God and man. Although the development of thought which we have traced separated it from all gross materialism, yet the transcendental world of the apocalyptists, to which it belonged, was not truly spiritual. Although it was beyond and above the sensible world that is here and now, it was still conceived in terms of the external, local, temporal and pluralistic. It was but a visionary double of the sensible world. In effect it differed little from that spirit-world of the Stoics which was composed of finer matter. Its essences and persons were easily transformable into the physical elements. As with the Stoics, fire was a frequent figure for its ultimate and highest realities (Enoch x. 6, xiv. 22, xvii. 1), and the Holy Spirit too was closely associated with fire (Mt. iii. 11; Lk. iii. 16; Acts ii. 3). At its highest, the Holy Spirit in Jewish thought was a transcendent being, dwelling in the super-sensible world, next to God, above all

[1] If the view is adopted that all references to the Spirit in the Synoptic Gospels are due to later tradition, it removes the necessity of attributing this particular evidence of kenosis to the consciousness of Jesus; but it does not affect the main argument, for it renders it still more evident that the idea of the unforgiving Spirit was a Jewish product, because in the Christian consciousness of the apostolic age, the Spirit was known as it was manifested at Pentecost and afterwards.

the multitude of spirits, the hypostasis of God's power, wisdom and righteousness, but it was endowed with none of those intimate and inward relations of love, communion and reciprocity, which are of the essence of a fully developed personality.

CHAPTER III

THE SPIRIT OF WISDOM

1. After the Babylonian captivity, and especially after Alexander's eastern conquests, a constant stream of Jewish emigrants settled in the chief centres of population in the Greek world. The most important colony, in respect both of numbers and of intellectual and literary activity, was that of Alexandria. There the great Hellenistic system of thought was evolved which moulded Hebrew thought in the forms of Greek philosophy, and which formed the bridge by which Christianity entered upon the intellectual heritage of the Gentile world. Similar developments may have taken place in other centres, where similar conditions obtained. The universality of the Spirit may have been known at Antioch and Tarsus, and the doctrine of the Logos at Ephesus. But only Alexandria has left a literary record of the amalgamation of Hebrew and Greek thought into a great system of theology. Its literature includes the Greek translation of the Old Testament, the apocryphal books of Wisdom, Tobit, 2 and 3 Maccabees, and the Greek form of Ecclesiasticus, and wholly or partly, the Sibylline Oracles, the Letter of Aristeas, 2 Enoch and 4 Maccabees. But its most important productions were the writings of Philo, an Alexandrian Jew who was a contemporary of Jesus Christ. He set himself deliberately to show the Jew that Gentile philosophy was a divine science, because its ideas could be derived, by the allegorical method, from the writings of Moses, and to show the educated Greek

that Hebrew literature was not barbaric, because it had anticipated by many centuries the ruling ideas of Greek culture.

2. For the present purpose, the book of Wisdom and the writings of Philo are of first-class importance. In a much slighter degree, the Sibylline Oracles, 2 Enoch, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus and 4 Maccabees are also relevant. But apart from Wisdom and Philo, what is most noteworthy about the Alexandrian literature is the almost complete absence of references to the Spirit. The chief cause of its neglect was the same as in Palestinian literature. The writers' minds were dominated by the law as the final revelation of the will of God. They wrote to illustrate, elaborate and enforce the teaching of the law. But in the Book of Wisdom and in the writings of Philo, the influence of Greek philosophy predominated, and transformed the law into a living principle of life. The idea of the Spirit was therefore able to assert itself as a factor in a system of living thought. Both writers were concerned not merely to repeat the teaching of the past, but to justify it to the mind of their time. They constructed more or less complete systems of philosophy, in the living language of their intellectual environment, and assimilated the ancient conception of the Spirit to the ruling ideas of contemporary thought. Evidences of ecstatic experiences are not altogether wanting to them, but apart from these, they made the Spirit a more fundamental and vital factor in their working theory of life and reality than the orthodox legal schools either of Palestine or Alexandria had done. The doctrine of the Spirit was thus grafted into that great organism of ideas which Hellenistic thought was preparing as a body for the reception, preservation and articulation of Christian experience.

3. In its most general outline, Alexandrian theology bore some resemblance to that of Palestinian Judaism. It tended to deal in abstract ideas rather than concrete experiences. The idea of the transcendence of God and

of the ultimate opposition of good and evil was carried even further, and the demand for a system of intermediaries between Him and the world was therefore more urgent. Alexandrian thought also proceeded on the assumption that God had deposited the revelation of Himself in the Old Testament and had brought it to a climax in the Jewish law. But these general principles were manipulated, filled in and expressed with all the difference that the knowledge and pursuit of Greek philosophy made to the writers. Revelation could never be altogether a thing of the past to men who were seeking and creating a new way of construing their religious beliefs. The very act of thinking and reasoning which the process involved was a divine function; it was a power and a virtue issuing from God, and so far it revealed His nature and manifested His mind. The word of the Lord had come to the prophets periodically, had left them again, and had finally ceased; but to the philosophers of Alexandria it was a permanent endowment. Their conception of the spiritual world was therefore less external and mechanical, less anthropomorphic and sensational than that of Palestinian Judaism. Their abstractions were not the figures of popular mythology, but concepts derived directly from the divine process of reasoning. Their system is therefore more complete, consistent and unified. All its factors are related causally or by affinity of nature to one of the two ultimate principles of reality.

4. Their dualism is both metaphysical and moral. God 'created the world out of formless matter' (Wisd. xi. 17). 'In existing things there must be an active cause and a passive. The active is the reason of the universe . . . but the passive is soul-less and unable to move of itself.'[1] In the very act of creation some beings became mixed of good and evil, and for their creation God could not be wholly responsible; therefore He said 'Let us make man,' signifying that what was evil and hostile in man was the

[1] Philo, *Opif. Mund.*, 2 (Ed. Cohn and Wendland, 8, 9).

work of others, His helpers in the act of creation.[1] The original matter of creation was without quality, shape or form, and was such that God could not touch it, 'but by His incorporeal powers, which are properly called the ideas, He so fashioned the formless matter that He gave to every genus its fitting form.'[2] God not only stood apart from and opposed to pre-existing matter, but He is totally unlike all things created, and incomprehensible to human intelligence. 'Neither before creation was anything with God, nor since the creation of the cosmos is anything ranked with Him.'[3] He is one and simple, without parts and without qualities, not like man, nor like heaven, nor like the world, and of His essence man may know nothing, but only the bare fact of His existence.[4] Even His existence He does not reveal by direct communion, but through His powers, which, by the works they accomplish, manifest, not His essence, but His existence.[5] It is true that Philo does not consistently maintain this view, but speaks also of God as Creator, Father and Ruler of the universe, and regularly attributes to Him such qualities as life, goodness, intelligence and righteousness, and even states that the higher type of human intelligence may know Him by direct vision.[6] Yet his prevailing system rests upon the presupposition of a dualism of God and the world, and of transcendence so complete that God in His real being is removed out of all touch with the world, and beyond the comprehension and knowledge of man.

5. These doctrines of dualism and transcendence required Philo to develop his system of intermediary beings by which God created and ruled the world, and communicated to men the knowledge of His being and will. 'God, being one, has around Him innumerable powers which are the defenders and preservers of the created universe. . . . And

[1] *Ibid.*, 24 (72).
[2] *De Vict. Offer.*, 13.
[3] *Leg. Alleg.*, ii. 1 (2).
[4] *Deus Immut.*, 11, 13 (53, 62).
[5] *De Monarchia*, i. 6; *Poster. Caini*, 48.
[6] *De Abrahm.*, 25 (124).

by means of these powers was fashioned the incorporeal and intelligible world, which is the archetype of the visible world, having been composed of invisible ideas as this is of visible bodies.'[1] And this multitude of powers, which stand outside God, and which are identified with the archetypes of created things, is organised and summed up in two supreme powers, which stand nearer to God and manifest His goodness and His lordship. 'Along with the true God are two supreme and primary powers, His goodness and lordship (or authority). By His goodness He created the universe, and by His lordship He rules that which He has created. But a third between the two powers, which brings them together, is the Logos; for by the Logos God is both ruler and good.'[2] The powers were the two cherubim that stood before Paradise, and the Logos was the flaming sword between them. Elsewhere the two powers are two of the angels that appeared to Abraham, and God Himself is the third between them.[3] These two angels or powers are also called by the two Biblical names of the Deity, Lord and God, the one being His kingly power and the other His creative power.[4]

6. The two powers were brought together to a higher unity by a third concept or being, which stood above them and next to God, the Logos or reason or word of God. This is the master-concept of Philo's whole system, the sum-total of all mediation between God and the world. It is too vast and complex a conception for discussion here, beyond indicating its nature and position as mediator of God's revelation and action in the world. Philo uses the term *logos*, first, in its ordinary sense, of the mind or reason or speech of man. The plural form, *logoi*, denotes the content of the mind, its ideas, which are also equivalent to the powers of God and the principles of all individual

[1] *De Confus. Ling.*, 34 (171-2).
[2] *De Cherub.*, 9 (27).
[3] *De Sacr. Abelis et Caini*, 15 (59).
[4] *De Abrahm.*, 24 (121); *De Plant.*, 20 (86).

things. As such, the ideas or powers are parts or subsidiary notions of the more general concept, the Logos, which is the sum of all ideas, and the highest genus. The Logos thus comprehends and identifies the seminal logoi of Stoicism and the archetypal ideas of Platonism. As synthetic concept, the Logos is the archetype and original pattern of all created things, the sum of the ideal cosmos, of the mental images of all things that exist.[1] In relation to the created world, the Logos is the instrument of creation and providence.[2] In relation to God, the Logos is the image of God,[3] His eldest and first-begotten Son, the sum of His thoughts, issuing out of Him to create and order the universe, and to reveal to ordinary men what they may know of Him. It may therefore be called a God, in relation to those inferior minds which cannot yet see the true God; and as distinguished from God in His eternal essence, He may be called 'the second God.'[4] The chief function of the Logos is to bridge the gap that separates God, first from formless, pre-existent matter, and afterwards from the created universe.[5]

7. The question whether Philo regarded this system of mediation as abstract concepts or essences, in the manner of Greek philosophy, or as living and conscious beings, like the angels of Jewish theology, is one to which no satisfactory answer has yet been found. He identified both the Logos and the powers with the angels of the Old Testament. The Logos is 'the eldest angel,' 'the many-named arch-angel.'[6] The two supreme powers are also called cherubim and angels. The divine place and holy region of heaven are said to be full of incorporeal logoi, which are also called immortal souls and angels.[7] The stars were living intelligences of perfect virtue.[8]

[1] *Opif. Mund.*, 5-6 (20-25).
[2] *Praem et Poen.*, 9 (55); *Quis. Rer. Div.*, 48 (235-6); *De Somn.*, i. 41 (241).
[3] *Prof.*, 19.
[4] *Somn.*, i. 39 (227-30); *Fragm.*, ii. 625. See Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, pp. 196-7.
[5] *Quis. Rer. Div.*, 42 (205-6).
[6] *Conf. Ling.*, 28 (146).
[7] *Somn.*, i. 21 (127).
[8] *Opif. Mund.*, 24 (73).

Souls, demons and angels differ in name but are one and the same in substance.[1]

Even the logoi, powers and ideas, terms of Greek philosophy, are continually referred to as having such characters and activities as would imply living, conscious beings or persons. But it has been urged that all this is the language of personification, and that Philo only allegorises the angelology of the Old Testament into philosophic conceptions of the thoughts of God, going forth and revealing themselves in the created universe. Here also the question of personality is ambiguous if not irrelevant.[2] Philo and his contemporaries had not defined the distinctions between person, personification and the impersonal, but on the whole Philo's world of ideas is also a world of living intelligences, of spirits; yet his manner of apprehending them vacillates between abstract concepts, impersonal essences and conscious beings. In his system of mediation between God and the world, they filled the place and performed the functions both of the angels of Jewish theology and of the ideas or logoi of Greek philosophy.

8. The cosmic system of the book of Wisdom is, in its general outline, the same as that of Philo. It involves the same dualism of reality and a similar transcendence of God. But its theory of mediation is simpler, and consists mainly of the idea of wisdom, with which, in a few places, the Logos is identified. The concept of wisdom played an important part in Alexandrian theology as a middle term between Hebrew and Greek thought, and particularly between the Hebrew idea of the Spirit of God and the Greek doctrine of the Logos. Its origin reaches far back into the Old Testament, but it suffered a great transformation in Alexandria. In the Hebrew Wisdom literature, wisdom embraced a great array of practical maxims of prudence and common-sense morality, as applied to the whole extent of the everyday affairs of human life. But even here the process of generalisation and synthesis

[1] *Gigant.*, 4 (16).

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 16.

had begun its work. The traditional aphorisms of the wise had been gathered into a more or less coherent system of morality, which had acquired unity and authority from a general conception of wisdom, personified or hypostatised, as the companion of God from everlasting, and His master-workman in the act of creation (Prov. viii. 22-31). In Ecclesiasticus the idea is more fully elaborated. Wisdom is identified with the whole Jewish law (xix. 20) and derived directly from God, who created her, and poured her out upon all His works (i. 1, 4, 9). In the book of Wisdom the idea attains to its most complete unity and its most universal significance. Wisdom issues forth from God, endowed with His power, knowledge and holiness, permeates the whole world, and reveals the love of God to man :

> 'For she is a breath of the power of God,
> And a clear effulgence of the glory of the Almighty;
> Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
> For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
> And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
> And an image of His goodness.
> And she, being one, hath power to do all things;
> And remaining in herself, reneweth all things;
> And from generation to generation passing into holy souls
> She maketh [them] friends of God and prophets.'
> (vii. 25-27.)

She was present with God at creation (ix. 9), and sitteth by Him on His throne (ix. 4). She is 'the artificer of all things,' and 'she pervadeth and penetrateth all things' (vii. 22, 24). She bestows on man all virtue and knowledge (viii. 7, 8) and 'all good things together' (vii. 11). She has ruled the destinies of nations and has fashioned the whole course of Israel's history (x.-xii.). Thus wisdom emanates from God, a principle of knowledge, power, holiness and love. It is the medium of creation, revelation and providence. It is immanent in the world as the order of nature, the law of history, and the moral and religious

teacher of man. In all essential points, it is the same as Philo's Logos. Although the term retains the practical and moral emphasis of its Hebrew associations, it is predominantly a Greek synthesis of divine essence, cosmic principle and moral law. And the author has put the ideas in a parallelism which shows that he identified them :

> 'Who madest all things by thy word (logos);
> And by thy wisdom thou formedst man' (ix. 1, 2).

The functions of wisdom are also assigned to the Logos. The Logos 'healeth all things' and 'preserveth them that trust' in God (xvi. 12, 26). For the destruction of the Egyptians,

> 'Thine all-powerful word leaped from heaven, out of the royal throne,
> A stern warrior, into the midst of the doomed land.'
> (xviii. 15; cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 16).

So far as the implications of these passages go, both wisdom and word might be regarded as vivid personifications of moral, intellectual and physical qualities which God bestows on man.

9. But in another important class of passages, the writer clearly identifies wisdom with the Spirit of God, and thus brings it into a different category. As principles of moral purity and holiness, wisdom and the Spirit are placed in parallelism with one another :

> 'Because wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil,
> Nor dwell in a body that is held in pledge by sin,
> For a holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit' (i. 4, 5)

And several times the two ideas are categorically identified. 'Wisdom is a Spirit that loveth man' (i. 6a). 'I called upon [God], and there came to me a Spirit of wisdom' (vii. 7b). 'For there is in [wisdom] a Spirit, quick of

understanding, holy . . . all-powerful, all-surveying and penetrating through all spirits' (vii. 22, 23). 'And who ever gained knowledge of thy counsel, except thou gavest wisdom, and sentest thy Holy Spirit from on high' (ix. 17). The place and function assigned to wisdom in passages already quoted are also attributed to the Spirit. As moral and intellectual principle 'a holy Spirit of discipline' will only dwell with understanding, and is hostile to unrighteousness (i. 5). As immanent principle in nature, 'the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which holdeth all things together hath knowledge of every voice' (i. 7). 'Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things,' and therefore it convicteth men of sin, admonishes them, and delivers them from wickedness to believe in God (xii. 1, 2; cf. John xvi. 8 ff.). Thus a complete equivalence, both in terms and in fact, is established between the three ideas, wisdom, Logos and Spirit. The effect is twofold: Logos and wisdom acquire a more personal complexion by their identification with the Spirit, and the Spirit a more universal signification by its assimilation to the rational principles of Greek philosophy.

10. The same threefold equivalence may be inferred in the writings of Philo. Whether the doctrine had become a commonplace of Alexandrian thought, or whether Philo learnt it from the book of Wisdom, or whether each author developed this particular amalgamation of Hebrew and Greek ideas independently, cannot be ascertained. The possible evidence of such a doctrine outside these two writers is slight and uncertain. In the Sibylline Oracles, it is said that God as creator 'planted His sweet Spirit in all, and made Him a guide to all mortals' (Fragm. i. 5), and that God by His word created all things (iii. 20). The sibyl's prophecies must be fulfilled, because they are the thoughts of God, which cannot fail of their appointed end, 'for all over the world the Spirit of God cannot lie' (iii. 700-1). Here the thought, the word and the Spirit of God seem to represent a composite

principle of God's self-revelation, issuing from Him and becoming immanent in all things. But it would be hazardous to impose a coherent system of ideas upon the Sibyllines. In the book of the Secrets of Enoch, wisdom appears as God's obedient agent in the creation of man (xxx. 8), and God's thought, wisdom and word are elements in His eternal self-sufficiency (xxxiii. 4), but the Spirit does not appear in this book. In 4 Maccabees, the theme is developed that 'inspired reason is supreme ruler over the passions,' and wisdom as the knowledge of things divine and human is represented as the end of life under the control of reason. The spirit of his reason transforms Eleazer from decrepit old age into a young man again, but it is doubtful whether ever an indirect reference to the Spirit of God should be surmised here. In these writings the composite Greek doctrine of wisdom and logos is obvious, but, with the possible exception of the Sibyllines, the Hebrew idea of the Spirit did not belong to their universe of thought.

11. In Philo the idea of the Spirit of God, although not prominent, is yet assimilated to the essential principles of his system. Unlike most Jewish writers, Alexandrian and Palestinian, in this period, Philo knew those deep stirrings of the soul, those supernatural possessions and ecstasies of the spirit, which in ancient Hebrew prophecy were the characteristic workings of the Spirit of God. In one place he describes fully an experience which, he says, 'I know I have experienced countless times. . . . Sometimes, having come empty (to his usual occupation of writing the doctrines of philosophy), I suddenly became full, ideas being invisibly showered upon me and planted from above, so that by a divine possession I was filled with enthusiasm, and was absolutely ignorant of the place, of those present, of myself, of what was said, of what was written; for I had a stream of interpretation, an enjoyment of light, a most keen-sighted vision, a most distinct view of the subjects treated, such as would be given

through the eyes from the clearest exhibition [of an object].'[1] He traces his doctrine of the two powers to the reasoning of his soul in a state of divine possession.[2] He attributes the revelation which he had to 'the invisible Spirit which was accustomed to converse with him in secret.'[3] The chief factor in this experience was the quickening of intelligence, the free flow of ideas in the mind, but it was attended by a feeling of joy and exaltation, with a sense of being possessed by a supernatural mind, the invisible Spirit, which gave ideas in abundance and with a clearness beyond the normal power of the mind. Philo interpreted Hebrew prophecy in the light of these experiences of his own, and although in that connection he affirms the abnormal character of the experiences, and the agency of the Spirit, more emphatically, the difference is of degree rather than of kind. 'A prophet utters nothing of his own, but the foreign message of another who speaks through him.' Therefore when the prophetic trance comes upon him, 'his own intelligence departs at the arrival of the divine Spirit, and returns with its departure, for it is not lawful for the mortal to dwell with the immortal.'[4] The prophet in the state of inspiration is therefore entirely passive. 'He does not even know that his reasoning powers are removed and absent from the citadel of his soul. But the divine Spirit having entered, and having taken up its abode in his soul, uses the whole organ of his voice and utters by it unto clear manifestation the things which it prophesies.'[5] And 'through prophecy is made manifest the things which cannot be comprehended by a process of reasoning.'[6] Nor is the prophet himself able to understand what he utters.[7] Yet a rational inference from circumstances may be called a prophecy, when it is such that 'the mind would never hit the mark

[1] *Migrat. Abrah.*, 7 (34-5). Drummond's translation adopted here and in a few other cases.
[2] *Cherub.*, 9 (27).
[3] *Somn.*, ii. 38 (252).
[4] *Quis. Rer. Div.*, 52, 53 (258-66).
[5] *De Spec. leg.*, iv. 8 (49); *Vita Mosis*, iii. 34 (ii. 253).
[6] *Vita Mosis*, iii. 23 (ii. 187).
[7] *Monarch.*, i. 9.

unless a divine Spirit led it to the truth.'[1] And Philo distinguishes emphatically between heathen divination and magic and the prophecy inspired by the divine Spirit, and the essential difference lies in the Spirit that inspires. When the prophetic Spirit came upon Balaam, all his divination and sophistry departed, for holy inspiration could not dwell with magic.[2] Philo also attached ethical conditions to the reception of the Spirit. It may come upon the wicked, but it will not remain on him, and it is not lawful for a wicked man to be God's prophet.[3] Philo, like the prophets of the Old Testament, based his doctrine of the Spirit of God upon real and immediate experiences of his own. It is not correct to say 'that πνεῦμα is adopted only when it occurs in the text of scripture which is under discussion.'[4] The Spirit as the author of ecstasy, inspiration and prophecy had a real significance for Philo's own experience.

But the very intensity and abnormality of the experience led him to develop from it the most mechanical theory of inspiration possible; he accepted the legend that the translators of the Septuagint had separately written the same words, because 'they like men inspired prophesied,' for their minds concurred with the most pure spirit of Moses.[5] And to Philo perhaps should be traced the theory of passive and literal inspiration which came into vogue in the Christian Church.

12. But there is another side to his doctrine of the Spirit, and one more obviously in harmony with his main theory and his doctrine of the Logos.

The Spirit enters into the natural constitution of man's being. Nature, in fashioning man out of the lowest form of being, infused into it a pneumatic element to produce the nutritive and sensational powers of the soul.[6] But Philo elsewhere distinguishes three parts of the soul, the

[1] *Vita Mosis*, iii. 36 (ii. 265).
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 50 (277).
[3] *Gigant.*, 5 (19-20); *Quis. Rer. Div.*, 52 (259).
[4] Gfrörer, quoted by Drummond, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 217.
[5] *Vita Mosis*, ii. 7 (40).
[6] *Opif. Mund.*, 22 (67).

nutritive, the sensational and the rational; the essence of the first two is blood and of the third spirit, so that the essence of the soul as a whole is spirit; yet the spirit does not exist apart by itself, but it is mingled with the blood in the body; as air or breath it permeates the veins of the body along with the blood.[1] Every man may therefore be regarded as two beings, animal and man, for he participates in the principle of life with the irrational creation, and in the principle of reason with God, who is the fountain of the eldest or original Logos. The essence of the former is blood, and of the latter spirit, which is here defined as being, not air in motion, but a certain type and impression of divine power, the image of God, who is the archetype of rational nature.[2] 'Man was not formed of the dust alone, but also of the divine Spirit,' but by his disobedience he 'cut off that constitution which imitated heaven from his better part, and made himself over wholly to the earth.'[3]

Another important distinction which Philo makes is that between ideal archetypal man, the heavenly man, made according to the image of God, incorporeal and pure intelligence, and actual man, earthly man, who has body and senses, and who is composed of earthly substance and divine Spirit. When scripture says that 'God breathed into the face of man the breath of life,' it means that 'the divine Spirit descended out of the blessed and happy nature of the Father and Ruler of all, to take up its habitation on earth for the benefit of the human race.' The Spirit is therefore the middle term between God and the human intellect, issuing out of the one, constituting the essence of the other, God thus sending forth the knowledge of Himself to meet man's power of apprehending.[4]

13. In this way the Spirit of God comes to be identified directly with wisdom and indirectly with the Logos. It

[1] *Quaest in Gen.*, ii. 59. [2] *Quod Det. Pot.*, 22, 23 (79-85).
[3] *Fragm. in John Damasc.*
[4] *Opif. Mund.*, 46 (134-5); *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 12-13 (31-42).

is called 'the divine Spirit of wisdom.'[1] While the term spirit in one sense denotes light air, 'in another sense it is the pure knowledge in which every man naturally participates. . . . God called Bezaleel, and filled him with divine Spirit, wisdom, understanding, knowledge, for devising every work, so that the essence of divine Spirit is defined by these terms.'[2] 'For the divine Spirit is not a motion of the air, but intellect and wisdom.'[3] And wisdom is on the whole, although perhaps not quite consistently, identified with the Logos.[4] Philo had in his mind therefore an equation of the three terms, Spirit, wisdom and Logos. And he also brings the Spirit and the Logos into direct relation with one another. In a passage already quoted, where he defines the dual constitution of man, he calls God 'the fountain of the eldest Logos,' and immediately afterwards, he says that what flows from the rational fountain is the Spirit, and after describing the Spirit as the type and impress of divine power and the image of God, terms also used of the Logos, he states that the higher nature of man, which he had just called Spirit, is mind (*noûs*) and Logos.[5] In one place Philo interprets the phrase, 'God breathed into the face of man the breath of life,' as expressing the descent of the divine Spirit out of the nature of God into the human race; and in another place he explains it as meaning that man's rational soul is stamped with the seal of God, whose impress is the eternal Logos. Similarly, he explains the creation of man in the image of God both as participation in the Spirit of God, and as formation according to the archetypal Logos.[6] As far as Philo has expressed his conception of the Spirit, it occupies the same place and fulfils the same function in his system as his master-concept, the Logos. It issues out of the nature of God;

[1] *Gigant.*, 11 (47).
[2] *Ibid.*, 5 (22-23).
[3] *Quaest in Gen.*, i. 90.
[4] Drummond, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-13.
[5] *Quod Det. Pot.*, 22, 23 (79-85).
[6] Cf. *Opif. Mund.*, 46 (134-5), *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 13 (33-42), with *Plant. Noe.*, 5 (18-20).

it mediates between God and man; it is God's agent in the creation of man; it constitutes the higher nature of man; it is the principle of knowledge, morality and religion in man. On the other hand, activities and characteristics traditionally peculiar to the Spirit are attributed to the Logos. It communicates prophecy, and speaks through Moses and in scripture; it is the author of piety and wisdom, of the knowledge of God and of conviction of sin.[1] The identity of Logos and Spirit is most clear where both are related to the nature and life of man.

14. It is more doubtful whether he assimilated the Spirit with the Logos as a cosmic principle. He describes the Spirit which was upon Moses as 'the wise, the divine, the indivisible, the inseparable, the excellent, the whole which is fulfilled through all things.'[2] In comparison with the storm-winds which ravage the earth, the divine Spirit is 'capable of all things, and ruling the things below.'[3] In an enumeration of all the elements of the created universe, pneuma is reckoned along with heaven, earth, water, animals and plants;[4] and together with water it is said to be one of the binding forces of the earth.[5] The term pneuma therefore denotes a principle which permeates physical nature as well as the soul of man. But the question then arises whether the word is used in the same sense in both connections. Philo states definitely that the word pneuma in one sense means the air, and in another, pure knowledge;[6] and also that Spirit as the essence of man's soul is not air in motion, but the image of God.[7] But it does not follow that he meant by the one, air or wind as merely physical phenomena, and by the other, a metaphysical principle.[8] Rather he, like the Stoics, drew no hard and fast distinction between the physical and the metaphysical, but merged the one into

[1] Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
[2] *Plant. Noe.*, 6 (24).
[3] *Opif. Mund.*, 45 (131).
[4] *Gigant.*, 6 (27).
[5] *Ebriet.*, 27 (106).
[6] *Gigant.*, 5 (22).
[7] *Quod Det. Pot.*, 23 (83).
[8] Drummond, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 214-15.

the other.[1] He conceived creation, like Aristotle, as an evolutionary process, and the formative power which effected the transition from each lower stage to a higher was the Spirit. It is the binding force of the earth. By its infusion into the lower form of being, the nutritive and sensational parts of the soul are produced. It is the essence of the rational soul. Yet it is not a permanent and universal endowment of all men; it was forfeited by the disobedience of the first man.[2] And although it still visits even the worst, it immediately abandons them because of their sin.[3] With the majority of men it remains only for a brief period, because their entanglement in the affairs of this life drives it away; it abides permanently with one class of men only, with those who, like Moses, have put off all created things and every veil of opinion, and who have come to God in pure and naked thought.[4] The Spirit therefore enters as a constituent part of nature and man at every stage of being, but its own nature and form differs with the stage to which it belongs; it is cosmic force, life, sensation, reason, and in its highest form it is the endowment of the prophet in his moments of inspiration, and of the ascetic philosopher who subdues the flesh, and turns away from the world to live the intellectual life in unbroken contemplation of God.

15. In this way Philo brought together the ancient Hebrew idea of the Spirit of God, whose main field of operation was the human soul, and whose chief function was the inspiration of prophecy, and the Greek conception of the Logos, as the principle of order in nature, of reason in man, and of the revelation of God to the soul. But the fusion was neither formal nor complete. The Logos remains the dominant idea in Philo's system. The idea of the Spirit has not been so fully elaborated. It is only slightly and incidentally related to the universe as a whole.

[1] *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 13 (33-42); *Quaest in Gen.*, ii. 59.
[2] *Fragm. in John Damasc.*
[3] *Gigant.*, 5 (20); *Quis. Rer. Div.*, 52 (259).
[4] *Gigant.*, 12 (53-56).

And it retains some of its Hebrew characteristics, which could be only partially assimilated to the Greek conception. Its activities are more definitely related to moral conditions. Greater emphasis is laid on its agency in abnormal states, in prophecy and ecstasy. Yet where Philo's teaching about the Spirit is clearest, its essential nature and functions are the same as those of the Logos. Both are intellectual principles, issuing from God, entering into the constitution of man, bestowing upon him his higher nature, and effecting his intellectual and moral relations with God. Even in the matter of personality, the same indefiniteness and ambiguity attaches to the Spirit as to the Logos. Many expressions about it might be understood in an impersonal sense. But as intellectual principle it involved personality. And many personal acts are ascribed to it. It blesses, remains with man, leads him in the right way, and is able to do all things. But the transformation of the Spirit into an abstract philosophical principle made its personality less vivid than it was in Hebrew thought.

This fusion of the Hebrew idea of the Spirit with the Greek Logos by Philo anticipated, and prepared the way for, a similar development in Christian theology. It shows Philo, like Paul and John, finding himself with three terms for the manifestation of Deity, driven to merge two of them into one, and to represent the Godhead as two hypostases, God and the Logos-Spirit. It brought the Hebrew idea into a rational system of philosophy, but at the same time deprived it of much of its vividness, individuality and independence. It becomes a fluid composition of abstract concept, essence, substance and semi-personal hypostasis. It is the other, and less frequent, name of the Logos. The result was that in the system of Christian thought, where the philosophy of Alexandria predominated, the Spirit always remained an attendant shadow, or a corollary of the Logos.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISPENSATION OF THE SPIRIT

1. BELIEF in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the experience of the Holy Spirit, were the two distinctive factors in the life of the Christian Church of the first generation. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost was an explanation of the extraordinary behaviour of the disciples as the effect of the descent of the Holy Spirit, and a proof of the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus Christ, who had therefore poured forth 'this which ye see and hear' (Acts ii. 14-36). Paul, in the middle of his missionary career, defines the gospel of which he was an apostle, as that 'concerning his Son . . . declared *to be* the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead' (Rom. i. 1-4). The resurrection was the first article in the faith of the Church, and the main theme of the preaching of the apostles. The gift of the Spirit was the empirical proof for the disciples, and the public demonstration, of the fact of the resurrection. There were indeed experiences and appearances associated directly with the risen Christ Himself, but the phenomena of the Spirit were more abundant, and the present study is primarily concerned with them. Before considering the relations of the two groups of phenomena to one another, and their mutual theological implications, it is necessary to attempt a survey and valuation of the empirical phenomena and psychological facts which the first Christians called the gift of the Spirit. They were the living realities which

produced the apostolic teaching about the Holy Spirit. They are the first foundation in Christian consciousness upon which any doctrine of the Spirit must be reared.

2. A survey must define the boundaries before it measures the extent of a territory. In time and place the Christian Church issued out of Palestinian Judaism. But the difference in mental outlook, in moral enthusiasm, and in religious atmosphere, divides them into two spiritual universes. The one is comparatively cold and formal, diffident and fearful, at its best looking away wistfully to the remote heavens and the distant future. The other is rich in faith and fervour, abounding in spiritual possessions, rejoicing in victory, and eagerly laying hold of the consummation of its hopes. Even in comparison with the life of Jesus Christ and the atmosphere that surrounded Him, the early apostolic age presents a contrast in the intensity of its experiences and in its triumphant enthusiasm. In the synoptic gospels we see One standing alone among the million, Himself indeed strong and courageous, rich in inward triumph over evil and in the joy of His Father's love, but apparently defeated and crushed by the ignorance, prejudice and wickedness of the million. But in the apostolic writings, the defeat has been transformed into victory, the lonely, baffled warrior has become the triumphant Lord, whose name goes forth in irresistible might that promises the speedy and final overthrow of all opposition, and the fulfilment of all hopes. And the manifest difference lay in the possession of the gift of the Spirit, and in the extraordinary phenomena that witnessed to the gift. Yet this new life did not stand out of all relation with antecedents and environment. The first framework of its thought was that of Palestinian Judaism, gradually modified by the ruling ideas of current Greek philosophy. It recognised its kinship with the religious hopes of the Jews, and it lived in the minds of men who had inherited the feelings and habits, the prejudices and superstitions, of the mixed populations of Syria and Asia,

Greece and Italy. And the real nature, nay even the uniqueness, of the gift of the Spirit can only be appreciated when it is apprehended in its historical context.

It has been shown (Chap. II.) how the Messianic hope of Israel included the expectation of a special endowment of the Spirit (Is. xi. 2, xliv. 3; Joel ii. 28 f.; Enoch xlix. 3, lxii. 2; Ps. Sol. xvii. 42, xviii. 8; Test. XII. Levi xviii.; Judah xxiv.). The records of the life of Christ embody the fact or tradition [1] that in His person the expectation had been partly realised (Mt. i. 18-20; Lk. i. 35; iv. 1, 14, 18; Mk. i. 10-12, iii. 29). His Messiahship, however, was only imperfectly perceived even by His disciples, and that but a short time before His death (Mt. xvi. 16; cf. 22). When, therefore, the conviction of His resurrection possessed them, and they realised that He was indeed the Messiah, and that by the resurrection He had come into His Messianic kingdom in the world, it was a natural expectation that the gift of the Spirit should accompany His reign. A period of reflection, communion and prayer, in which the conviction that Christ lived had grown more distinct and vivid, culminated on the day of Pentecost in the joy and ecstasy of the new discovery, and it was natural to recognise, in the new experience and its phenomena, the gift of the Spirit which had been promised for the Messianic period through the prophet Joel.

But the phenomena of the Spirit had also more immediate affinities with the actual life of the community in which they occurred. In the life of the Church itself, a number of similar phenomena, abnormal, miraculous, ecstatic, which are not directly attributed to the Spirit, are yet of the same psychical character. And in the larger world outside the Church, both Jewish and heathen, phenomena were prevalent which fall into the same psychological category. Before the doctrine of the Spirit can be shown to stand for a definite and distinct fact or group of facts in experience and reality, it has to be defined and differentiated in this

[1] E. M. Winstanley, *Spirit in the New Testament*, pp. 126 ff.

double context of psychic phenomena, in the Church and in the world.

3. Jewish thought, under the influence of moral legalism, theological dualism and Oriental polydaemonism, had developed a double kingdom of spirits, God with the angels, and the devil with his evil spirits. By the time of Christ the latter doctrine had been greatly reinforced by Greek demonology, the uprush of primitive animism, which during the first Christian century spread rapidly over the Roman empire. From the days of Hesiod, the Greek mind, even in its most philosophic mood, had admitted and even encouraged the belief in demons, and in the first century of our era, this belief seems to have taken the place of religion for the masses, and of philosophy for the cultured. Ancient gods and heroes, spirits of nature and guardians of men, were all merged into an innumerable host of invisible, living, conscious, active beings, who permeated the whole earth and attended upon every event in human life. 'Dwelling in a region between earth and ether, they are of mingled mortal and divine nature, weaker than the gods, stronger than men, servants of God and overseers of men . . . healers of the sick, revealers of what is dark, aiding the craftsman, companions of the wayfarer.' [1]

The prevailing Greek view had represented demons as morally good or indifferent, but Xenocrates first, and Plutarch after him, developed a dual system of good and evil demons, the former being 'servants of God and faithful guardians of human virtue,' while the latter were the authors of all the error and evil in the world.[2] It is noteworthy that this belief spread with renewed vigour in the Greek and Roman worlds during the first century, the period in which the Christian Church also experienced the gift of the Spirit in greatest abundance.

4. The Church inherited and adopted not only the

[1] Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 429-30.
[2] Dill, *ibid.*, pp. 431 f.

Jewish doctrines of angels and evil spirits, but the entire heathen world of demons, yet with the difference that all the demons were now classed as evil spirits. And the Christian belief in the reality and malignity of evil spirits grew more intense, as the conflict grew fiercer between the Church and the heathen world.

The Gospels abound in evidences of the belief in the reality and activity of demons. They were the agents of diseases of mind and body, and Christ's healing ministry was a continual triumph over them (*e.g.* Mk. i. 23-26, 32, 34, iii. 22 ff., vii. 24 ff.). Paul's first encounter with heathenism in the Church was his repudiation of a tendency in the Corinthian Christians to condone heathen sacrifices, which the apostle brands as sacrifices to demons (1 Cor. x. 20; cf. Rev. ix. 20). Christians had been delivered out of the power of such evil spirits (Eph. ii. 2), for before they believed, their hearts had been 'houses of demons' (Barn. xvi. 7); and yet the heart, unless it is guarded, may become a 'dwelling-place of many demons' (Valentinus,[1] cf. Mt. xii. 43-45). Christians believed that the demons held full sway over men's bodies, minds and spirits, and the belief persisted far beyond the apostolic age. They afflicted men with diseases (Acts v. 16, x. 38), and worked wonders similar to the Christian miracles (Rev. xvi. 14). Christians did not deny that in various places, cities and nations, wonders were worked in the name of idols, but if some received benefit, and others suffered harm, they did not regard as gods those who worked the twofold effect, but as demons.[2] The power of demons was manifested especially in hostility to Christianity. 'For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual *hosts* of wickedness in the heavenly *places*' (Eph. vi. 12). They assail and ensnare believers with temptations to sin (Jas. iv. 7;

[1] Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, p. 5 n.
[2] Athenag., *Leg.*, 23.

Eph. iv. 27; 2 Cor. ii. 11; 1 Tim. iii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 26). They oppose the preaching of the gospel (Acts xiii. 8) and blind men's minds against its light (2 Cor. iv. 4). Errors and heresies in the Church were the work of evil spirits. Heretics were those who gave heed to 'seducing spirits and doctrines of demons' (1 Tim. iv. 1; cf. 1 John iv. 1 f.). 'Evil spirits put forward the Samaritans Simon and Menander, who did many mighty works by magic and deceived many. . . . The devils put forward Marcion of Pontus, who is even now teaching men to deny that God is the maker of all things.'[1] But the evil spirits manifested their hatred most of all in the persecutions which they inspired the Roman empire to inflict upon the Christians. The crucifixion of Jesus Himself had been the work of the devil (John vi. 70, xiii. 2, 27), whose agents the Jews were (John viii. 44; 1 Cor. ii. 8).[2] 'Babylon the great (*i.e.* Rome) is become a habitation of demons, and a hold of every unclean spirit' (Rev. xviii. 2). The Roman authorities, 'yielding to unreasoning passion, and to the instigation of evil demons,' punished the Christians 'without consideration or judgment.'[3] Mobs in Lyons and Vienne, possessed by the fury of the devil, cruelly martyred the Christians, believing that they were thus avenging their gods.[4]

5. In a world thus maddened and led astray by evil spirits, the Church conceived its mission to be to combat the whole realm of demons, to undo their work and to abolish their power. 'To this end was the Son of God manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil' (1 John iii. 8). 'The Son of God became man . . . in order to destroy the demons.'[5] First of all the Church fought the demons, as it were in hand to hand combat, by casting them out of the men into whose bodies they had entered. While Christ lived, the demons always obeyed Him, but

[1] Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26, 56, 58.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 63.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 5; *Dial. C. Tryph.*, 39.
[4] Euseb., *H. E.*, v. i. 31.
[5] Justin, *Apol.*, ii. 6.

the disciples then only exercised such powers occasionally (Mk. vi. 13; Lk. x. 17; cf. Mk. ix. 17 f.). But after the Ascension, the leading disciples seem to have possessed regularly the power to cast out evil spirits (Acts v. 16, viii. 7, xvi. 18, xix. 11 ff.). 'Exorcism formed one very powerful method of their mission and propaganda.' 'From Justin downwards, Christian literature is crowded with allusions to exorcisms, and every large church at any rate had exorcists.' [1]

Exorcism was practised mainly in the name of Jesus. In the New Testament, Jesus Himself is said to cast out demons 'by the Spirit of God' (Mt. xii. 28), or otherwise 'by the finger of God' (Lk. xi. 20); but the disciples (Lk. x. 17; cf. Mk. xvi. 17) and others (Mk. ix. 38; cf. Mt. vii. 22) cast them out in the name of Jesus. Paul commanded the spirit of divination to go out of the Philippian maid 'in the name of Jesus' (Acts xvi. 18), and it may be inferred that such was his usual practice, for in obvious imitation of him, certain Jewish exorcists 'took upon them to name over them which had the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus,' and the demons knew who had, and who had not, the authority of the name (Acts xix. 13, 15). Other instances of exorcism recorded in Acts are not assigned to any specific agency (v. 16, viii. 7), but the disciples who exorcised in these cases attributed other acts of healing, and signs and wonders, to the name of Jesus (Acts iii. 16, iv. 10, 30). Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Origen agree that 'the power of exorcism lies in the name of Jesus, which is uttered as the stories of His life are being narrated.' [2] On the other hand, Pseudo-Clement and Cyprian seem to attribute exorcism, along with other acts of healing, to the Holy Spirit.[3] But it appears on the whole that the custom of the early Church was to invoke the name of Jesus as the

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, 2nd ed., i. pp. 131, 132.
[2] Origen, *C. Celsum*, I. vi.; Harnack, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 134-35, 144.
[3] Harnack, *ibid.*, i. pp. 133-34, 143.

remedy for such diseases as were attributed to demoniacal possession. And this practice survived long after the more specific gifts of the Spirit had died out.

6. But at first, the whole life of the Church and all its activities were ranged as a rival realm of the Spirit over against that of the evil spirits, to deliver the world out of their power. It was endowed with many special gifts, which it exercised both in 'signs and wonders' and in its normal influence in the sphere of moral and religious life. In the beginning, the abnormal activities impressed men most and were most readily attributed to supernatural causes. The disciples escaped from locked prisons (Acts v. 19, xii. 7 ff., xvi. 26), and their enemies were punished with calamities and death (v. 5, xii. 23, xiii. 11). They healed the sick and raised the dead to life (iii. 7, ix. 34, 40, xiv. 10, xx. 10). They obtained visions, revelations and prophecies (viii. 29, ix. 3 ff., x. 3, xi. 28), and were endowed with special gifts of utterance (ii. 4, iv. 8, x. 44, 45). And such phenomena were believed to occur beyond the apostolic age, far down into the second century.[1] Nor were they confined to the Church, but in Gnostic, Jewish and heathen circles, signs and miracles, but mostly exorcisms, were alleged. And the profession of miracles has never quite died out, as witness still the pilgrimages to Lourdes and Holywell, and the faith healings of Christian Science.[2]

The miracles recorded in the Gospels, except the casting out of demons, are as a rule simply narrated as works of Jesus Christ, without invoking any invisible agency working on Him or through Him, though it was implied that He derived His power from God (Lk. vii. 16, xvii. 18). Some of the marvels recorded in Acts were attributed to the agency of angels (v. 19, x. 3, xii. 23), others to God (xix. 11) and to the hand of God (xiii. 11; cf. xi. 21), others to Jesus Christ (ix. 34) and to the name of Jesus (iii. 16, iv. 10, 30, xvi. 18), and others to the Holy Spirit

[1] Weinel, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-127.
[2] G. B. Cutten, *Three Thousand Years of Mental Healing*, 1910.

(ii. 4, iv. 8, viii. 29, x. 19), while of some miracles nothing more is said than that the apostles performed them (v. 12, 16, ix. 40). Irenaeus attributes the miracles which he enumerates to 'the name of the Lord Jesus Christ' and to 'the power of God.'[1] But Paul attributes all the diversities of gifts in the Church to the Holy Spirit. He enumerates gifts of healings, workings of miracles, tongues and the interpretation of tongues, prophecy and the discernings of spirits, together with wisdom, knowledge and faith, 'but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit' (1 Cor. xii. 4-11; cf. Ro. xv. 18, 19; Gal. iii. 5).

7. In the New Testament special gifts of speech take the first place among the abnormal gifts of the Spirit. As Christ had promised (Mt. x. 20; Lk. xii. 12), the first apostles defended themselves with great boldness before the Sanhedrim, because they were filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts iv. 8). Stephen refuted the Hellenists, and Paul rebuked the sorcerer Elymas, through the Spirit (vi. 10, xiii. 9). The disciples 'were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness' (iv. 31). But the two most characteristic of the charismata of the Spirit were the gift of tongues and prophecy. Glossolalia was the most conspicuous and popular gift of the early years of the Church. It seems to have been the regular accompaniment and evidence of the descent of the Spirit upon believers (Acts ii. 4, x. 46, xix. 6). It flourished greatly in the church at Corinth, and the only contemporary account of it is given in Paul's first letter to that church (chapters xii. and xiv.). The apostle recognises diversities of gifts in the Church, and the same God and the same Spirit work them all. They are given to each one as 'the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal.' Among them he enumerates 'divers kinds of tongues' and 'the interpretation of tongues' (1 Cor. xii. 4-11). He includes them together with the offices of the

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, II. xxxii. 5.

Church and gifts of healing and administration, as 'those which God hath set in the Church' (verses 28 and 30). All gifts are indeed inferior to the sovereign grace of love, for they shall cease, while it never faileth (xiii. 1, 8). And among the public gifts of the Spirit, some have greater value than others for the Church. Prophecy and glossolalia were the two gifts on which the Corinthians prided themselves most, and the apostle contrasts these two, much to the advantage of prophecy, because it edified the Church (xiv. 4). 'For he that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God, for no man heareth (R.V. understandeth); but in the Spirit he speaketh mysteries' (xiv. 2). It is a gift that edifieth its owner, but no one else, unless he or another has the further gift of interpretation (xiv. 5-13). One speaking in a tongue may thus utter his own spirit's prayer, song, blessing or thanksgiving, but he does not use his intelligence, and the sounds are meaningless and useless to the hearer (xiv. 14-17). The use of the gift is not forbidden, for it edifieth its owner, and Paul himself spake with tongues more than all the Corinthians (xiv. 4, 18, 39). But in the meetings of the church it should be exercised with intelligence; its owner or another should express its meaning in intelligible speech, otherwise he should speak 'to himself and to God' (xiv. 19, 28). Objectively, then, glossolalia was the utterance of incoherent and meaningless sounds, and it had been the practice at Corinth for many or all of the members assembled, men and women, to utter such sounds together in common confusion, so that a stranger entering their meetings might think he had strayed into bedlam (xiv. 23). Yet Paul doubts not that the mood or experience thus expressed was caused by the Spirit of God, and such expression of it was profitable to the individual and acceptable to God, and under proper regulation it might be allowed in the meetings of the church. Paul's treatment of the matter seems to apply, not to Corinth only, but to the Church generally; he

claims to possess the gift himself, and it may be inferred that the phenomenon was familiar and common in all or in many of the churches of his acquaintance (Mk. xvi. 17; Acts xix. 6; 1 Thess. v. 19, 20). It is evident that the mood and its expression were similar to the primitive Hebrew 'prophesyings' related in the earliest literature of the Old Testament (Chap. I.). There may have obtained at Corinth, as in some modern revivals, a tendency to perpetuate and exaggerate the external phenomena, after the enthusiasm which first produced them had subsided. Both in ancient and in modern times the artificial repetition of the expressions tended, for a time at least, to reproduce the emotions.[1]

8. Glossolalia, in the accounts of it given in Acts, only appears as the accompaniment of the first descent of the Spirit upon believers. There is no evidence extant that the experiences of the day of Pentecost recurred in the church at Jerusalem, or that they were of common or frequent occurrence among believers anywhere. The only description of glossolalia in Acts is that of the apostles and their company speaking 'with other tongues' on the day of Pentecost. 'And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance' (Acts ii. 2-4). The writer goes on to enumerate the various countries from which the listening crowd was drawn, and 'every man heard them speaking in his own [native] language.' His meaning clearly is that the Holy Spirit had caused the disciples, separately or collectively, to speak a number of foreign languages, so that men of various countries heard them speak, each in his own different language. But the fifteen countries enumerated did not, as might be

[1] W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, chap. xxv.

assumed, represent fifteen languages. In ten of them at least the Greek language was in common use. And the crowd consisted entirely of Jews or proselytes, all of whom probably knew Greek. After the excitement had subsided, Peter delivered his sermon, apparently in Greek, and there is no suggestion that it was miraculously translated into other languages. Further, the impression which the 'speaking with other tongues' made upon a part at least of the crowd was, not that the disciples were endowed with a miraculous gift of languages, but that they were drunk (ii. 13). It would appear therefore that the narrative combines and confuses two different things, the writer's idea that the gift was one of foreign languages, and a fading primitive tradition of incoherent, ecstatic utterances, like the Corinthian glossolalia. We find no suggestion that after the day of Pentecost the Church possessed a gift of foreign languages, which it would have found useful in its missionary propaganda. It is a reasonable inference therefore that the Pentecostal gift was, in its outward expression, of the same kind as the Corinthian glossolalia. When the book of Acts was written, such phenomena had passed into a tradition, and a more prosaic imagination, seizing upon the terms 'tongue' and 'tongues,' had rationalised the ecstatic phenomena which it did not know, into a gift of foreign languages, which it did know. The process may have been aided by a Jewish tradition, that the law had been given on Mount Sinai to all nations, in tongues of fire, 'the flame being endowed with articulate speech in a language familiar to the hearers.' [1]

The gift itself was a mightier and more significant fact than skill in foreign languages, which in the circumstances would have been only an external, mechanical and purposeless miracle. But the disciples received an overwhelming sense of the power of God, an unutterable consciousness

[1] Philo, *De Decal.*, 9, 11, iv. 228-31; Weinel, *Bib. Theol. d. Neuen Testaments*, p. 33.

of the glory of the living Christ, an exaltation of emotion, of repentance, of relief, of joy and of triumph, which carried them indeed beside and beyond themselves.

9. The gift of tongues died out of the Church before the end of the apostolic age. The stream of Christian emotion flowed in deeper and broader channels, less violently and perhaps less mightily. It found utterance in work on wider fields, in the thought and language of the mystery revealed through the Spirit (1 Cor. ii. 10). Glossolalia is not mentioned in the later apostolic writings outside Acts, and the author of Acts had no personal knowledge of it. It may have survived in Gnostic circles; and it reappeared in Montanism, but the catholic Christians then attributed it to the devil and expelled the Montanists. A catholic writer quoted by Eusebius states that Montanus 'became beside himself, and being suddenly in a sort of frenzy or ecstasy, he raved and began to babble and to utter strange things, prophesying in a manner contrary to the constant custom of the Church, handed down by tradition from the beginning.' [1] Irenaeus refers to 'many brethren in the Church who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of languages.' [2] But he, like the author of Acts, seemed to be writing at a distance in time or place from the phenomena, of which he had no personal knowledge, and he therefore interprets the ecstatic speech as 'speaking in all languages' through the Spirit of God.

Similar phenomena may have been known to the heathen world in the second century. Celsus referred to certain prophets he had heard who uttered 'strange, fanatical and quite unintelligible words, of which no rational person can find the meaning, for so dark are they as to have no meaning at all.' [3] But whether these were heathen or Christian prophets cannot be decided. There is no certain evidence of glossolalia in ancient times, except in the

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, v. xvi. 7.
[2] *Adv. Haer.*, V. vi. 1.
[3] Origen, *C. Celsum*, VII. 9.

apostolic age and among the Montanists. In modern times, kindred phenomena have often recurred in times of religious excitement.[1]

The interpretation of tongues was a more restricted and rational gift which attended upon glossolalia. It was a mode of ecstatic experience, but at a level nearer the normal. The ecstatic, in his return to normal consciousness, would reach a stage at which he would apprehend an intelligible meaning in his exaltation, and would express it in language. Or it might be another ecstatic, who had not lost control of reason and speech, who would translate into words the ecstasy of a more exalted brother. The unutterable joy in the living Christ would be translated into such phrases as 'Jesus is Lord.' Paul's own conversion illustrates the transition from ecstasy to interpretation. At the first flash of recognition of the Lord Jesus, he is struck down dumb, but as he recovers sufficient consciousness to question the meaning of his trance: 'Who art thou, Lord?' 'What shall I do, Lord?' he finds the interpretation as a call to be Christ's missionary. Great as the significance of the ecstatic experience was for the subject, it was the interpretation that gave it practical value for the edification of the Church.

10. The gift of prophecy resembled very closely that of interpretation. Peter (in Acts ii. 17, 18) recognised in the Pentecostal glossolalia a fulfilment of the promise in Joel that all God's people should be prophets. But Paul distinguished between three things. Glossolalia was the ecstatic mood finding outlet in unintelligible utterance. Interpretation was a subsequent intelligible expression of the same ecstatic mood. Prophecy was a first and direct expression of ecstatic revelation, received and communicated in intelligible form.

At Corinth, prophecy was being superseded by glossolalia, and both had run into wild confusion (1 Cor. xiv. 33).

[1] Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, pp. 75-81; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des hl. Geistes*, pp. 18-19.

Paul finds it necessary to urge that not more than two or three should prophesy at the same meeting, and that they should prophesy 'one by one, that all may learn' (xiv. 29, 31).[1] He lays down as principles of distinction between prophecy and glossolalia, that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (xiv. 32), and prophecy was more useful for the edification of the church and the conviction of unbelievers (xiv. 5, 24). But he distinguishes prophecy also from revelation, knowledge and teaching (xiv. 6), and recognises an order of prophets co-ordinate with apostles and teachers, all of which were created by the Spirit (xii. 28, 29).

In the New Testament generally, prophecy ranges from the mechanical utterance of messages communicated by the Spirit, up to the teaching and preaching wherein the Spirit of God possessed and inspired, without eclipsing, the whole mind and spirit of the prophet. Some men were more accessible than others to this gift, and a class or order of prophets appeared early in the history of the Church. Just before the famine in the days of Claudius, prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch, and 'one of them named Agabus . . . signified by the Spirit that there should be a great famine over all the world,' with the result that the disciples at Antioch made provision to send relief to their brethren at Jerusalem (Acts xi. 27-30). This same Agabus, some years later, binding himself with Paul's girdle as a symbol of his message, and prefacing it with 'Thus saith the Holy Ghost,' all in the manner of the Old Testament prophets, foretold the imprisonment of Paul by the Jews at Jerusalem (xxi. 11). The Holy Spirit had communicated the same prediction to Paul himself (xx. 23), and to certain disciples at Tyre (xxi. 4). These prophecies were predictions of events which some knowledge of seasons and crops, and some understanding of the Jewish mind at Jerusalem, might have anticipated. But however the content of the prediction may have been

[1] Weinel, *St. Paul*, E. tr., p. 255.

obtained, the prophets felt and believed that it was directly communicated to them by the Holy Spirit. In like manner the writer of the Apocalypse calls his book a prophecy (xxii. 18), and its contents are frequently attributed directly to the Spirit. 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches' (ii. 7, 11, 17, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiv. 13). In the church at Antioch, 'prophets and teachers' seem to have formed one class, and through them the Holy Spirit issued the command that Barnabas and Saul should be set apart for the mission to the Gentiles (Acts xiii. 2, 4, cf. xv. 32). The universal mission of the Gospel had been previously revealed to Peter in a vision (x. 28). At Antioch Jew and Gentile had already united in the bonds of the Gospel, and Paul had vindicated their brotherhood in Christ against the Judaizers from Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 11 ff.). Now the Spirit through the prophets supplied the impulse and resolve to realise, on a wider scale, the principle that had been put into practice at Antioch.

11. These effects were worked by the direct action of the Spirit on the minds of the prophets. Revelations were also communicated in other ways, as by the abnormal affections of the senses, by visions and voices, by a kind of thought-reading, and by the Spirit's control of the body, while the mind was passive. Both Philip and Hermas were caught up and carried away by the Spirit in the same manner as Ezekiel (Acts viii. 39; Hermas, *Vis.*, II. i.; cf. Ezek. iii. 14; Mk. i. 12). Paul's conversion and Peter's vision at Joppa were complex experiences, involving supernatural sights and sounds (Acts ix. 4 ff., 10. ff., x. 1 ff.). Paul relates, apparently as one instance out of many 'visions and revelations of the Lord,' how he was 'caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable words' (2 Cor. xii. 1 ff.). Peter read the thoughts of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1 ff.). An ancient tradition survives that Irenaeus at Rome heard a voice saying, 'Polycarp is martyred,' at the very hour that Polycarp

was suffering martyrdom at Smyrna.[1] Ignatius affirmed that the Spirit had revealed to him the condition of the church at Philadelphia and had led him to support the authority of the bishop.[2] The Shepherd of Hermas abounds with instances of visions, messages and promptings from the Holy Spirit and other heavenly beings. Irenaeus maintained that there were in his time men who cast out devils, had foreknowledge of things to come, saw visions, uttered prophetic messages, healed the sick and even raised the dead, and all these gifts the Church had received from God in the name of Jesus Christ.[3] Such phenomena naturally appeared among the Montanists. Tertullian advanced as a proof of his doctrine of the corporeity of the soul, that it had been revealed to him by 'a sister whose lot it has been to be favoured with sundry gifts of revelation, which she experiences in the Spirit by ecstatic vision, amidst the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the Church; she converses with angels and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears mysteries; some men's hearts she understands, and to them who are in need she distributes remedies.'[4] He also held that dreams might be media of divine revelation, although they were more often agencies of demons.[5] But dreams have always been regarded as possible media of supernatural knowledge (Mt. i. 20, ii. 12 ff., xxvii. 19; Acts ii. 17; Hermas, *Vis.*, I. i. 3, II. iv. 1, etc.). Sometimes the Spirit, instead of communicating its message through the voice of its subject, endowed him with a special gift of writing. Such instances, however, are only given in the apocalyptic writings. John, being in the Spirit on the Lord's day, heard a great voice saying, 'What thou seest, write in a book' (Rev. i. 10, cf. ii. 1, 8, 12, etc.). Hermas receives a book from his heavenly visitor, which he transcribes letter by letter without understanding it, and the

[1] Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, p. 166.
[2] Ign., *Ad Philad.*, 7.
[3] *Adv. Haer.*, II. xxxii. 4.
[4] *De Anima*, 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, 47.

meaning of it was only revealed to him fifteen days later.[1] Another time he writes down the Commandments and the Similitudes as the Shepherd had bidden him.[2]

12. All these phenomena are not in so many words identified with prophecy, but they belong to the same psychical class. They were communications of knowledge from the spirit world, knowledge not otherwise available, through men and women specially endowed to that end. They are not all attributed to the Holy Spirit, but they are all communicated by some spiritual agent acting upon men from outside. The degree of passivity in the human instrument, and of transcendence of the spiritual agent, varies with different writers and in different phenomena. In the affections of the senses, in visions, voices, dreams and writing, the human subject is quite passive. But in receiving gifts of wisdom and knowledge, as in the higher kind of prophecy, the human spirit co-operates with the divine. Such revelations as those of Agabus, and of the Antiochian prophets, may be understood as the heightening and straining of the normal powers of the mind to their utmost capacity, by the urgency of the Spirit. Perhaps the ancient view was that the Spirit somehow communicated fully-formed ideas to the mind, but the mind in receiving them consciously and actively responded to the Spirit. In sense-revelations on the other hand, any dealing of the Spirit with the mind was unconscious or subconscious. Hence a mechanical doctrine of inspiration emerges, on the basis of a sensational theory of knowledge, akin to that of the Stoics. This view appears most clearly in the Patristic period. Some New Testament writers seem to have regarded the writers of the Old Testament as passive media of the revelations of the Spirit (Mt. xxii. 43 ; Lk. i. 70 ; Acts i. 16 ; 2 Pet. i. 21). The writer of the Apocalypse claimed plenary and literal inspiration for his book (xxii. 18, 19). Paul received his gospel by divine revelation (Gal. i. 11-24), but neither he

[1] *Vis.*, II. i. 4, ii. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 6.

nor any other New Testament writer, apart from the author of the Apocalypse, held a mechanical theory of inspiration in regard to their own writings. And their free handling of the text of the Old Testament shows that in respect of the older scriptures they held no hard and fast doctrine of Biblical infallibility.[1]

But the doctrine of human passivity and of mechanical inspiration appears in its baldest form, not only in the Apocalypses of Hermas, but also in the philosophy of the 'Exhortation to the Greeks,' at one time attributed to Justin Martyr. Men had only to 'present themselves pure to the energy of the divine Spirit in order that the divine plectrum itself, descending from heaven, and using righteous men as an instrument, like a harp or lyre, might reveal to us the knowledge of things divine and heavenly' (Chap. VIII.).[2] The same metaphor was used by the Montanists. Their opponents accused them of claiming to be God and the Holy Spirit, but the ground for such charges was, that they regarded themselves as mere instruments of the Deity, and the words they uttered therefore were literally and directly the words of God, or of the Paraclete. The Spirit spoke thus through Montanus: 'Behold, the man is a lyre, and I strike him as a plectrum. The man sleeps and I wake. Behold, it is the Lord who turns the hearts of men to ecstasy and gives hearts to men.'[3] Tertullian wrote that 'when a man is rapt in the Spirit . . . he necessarily loses his sensation,' *i.e.* his consciousness.[4]

But outside Montanism, in the second century, belief in passive and plenary inspiration was only held in respect of the past, of the writings of the Old and New Testaments, and the deliverances of such past inspiration were erected into a dogma to suppress all present inspiration. Montanist ecstasy was fathered on the devil, by the authority of

[1] Puleston Jones, *Until the Day Dawn*, chaps. iii.-iv.
[2] Cf. Athenag., *Leg.*, ix. 1.
[3] Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 48.
[4] *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 22.

scriptures which were believed to have been revealed in the ecstasies of former ages.[1]

13. The order of prophets had been well established and generally recognised in the Church of the first century. Paul ranks them next after the apostles (1 Cor. xii. 28; cf. Eph. iv. 11). 'Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying' (1 Thess. v. 19, 20). The Church had been 'built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets' (Eph. ii. 20), and the mystery of Christ had been 'revealed unto His holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit' (iii. 5). In the Apocalypse, 'prophets and saints' are the two most distinctive classes of believers (x. 7, xi. 18, xvi. 6, xviii. 20, 24). The order survived into the second century, although it was being gradually superseded by the episcopacy. Justin Martyr claims that 'the prophetic gift remains with us even to-day'; [2] and 'one receives the Spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, another of the fear of God.' [3] These gifts had been distributed by one or two to the Hebrew prophets, but they all found rest in Christ, and He 'imparts them to those who believe in Him.' [4] Irenaeus also appears to refer to prophecy and other gifts of the Spirit as contemporary facts, and he limits their operation within the (Catholic) Church.[5] By Origen's time, however, 'these signs had diminished, although there were still traces of the Holy Spirit's presence in a few who had their souls purified by the gospel.' [6]

The disappearance and suppression of prophecy is well illustrated in the Church's attitude towards Montanism. This movement arose in Phrygia, about the year 172, or earlier,[7] and spread rapidly over Asia to Rome and Africa, where it won the powerful adherence

[1] Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, II. xxviii. 2; Origen, *De Prin.*, IV. i.; Euseb., *H. E.*, V. xxviii., VI. xiv. 6.
[2] *Dialog.*, 82. [3] *Ibid.*, 39. [4] *Ibid.*, 87.
[5] *Adv. Haer.*, II. xxxii. 4, V. vi. 1. [6] *C. Celsum*, VII. 8, 11.
[7] See McGiffert on Eusebius, E. tr., p. 231, note 12.

of Tertullian. Montanus, and his two companion-prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, fastened upon the promise of the Paraclete in the fourth gospel, and professed that in them the promise had been fulfilled. They were the first and last revelation of the Paraclete. They claimed the most absolute divine authority for their revelations. Montanus is reported as saying, 'I came, neither an angel nor a messenger, but the Lord God the Father': 'I the Lord God Almighty have come among men': 'I am the Father and the Son and the Paraclete.' But these sayings meant, not that Montanus claimed to be Deity, but the mouthpiece of Deity. Certain sayings of Maximilla reveal a duality of divine and human consciousness in her experience. 'I am Word, Spirit and Power': 'The Lord has sent me as adherent, teacher and interpreter of this travail, promise and covenant, compelled, willing, yet not willing': 'Hearken not to me, but hearken to Christ.'[1] The Montanist prophets obtained their revelations by visions, by conversations with angels and with the Lord, and by the actual possession of their minds by the Deity or by the Paraclete; and they delivered them sometimes in the form of glossolalia, and at other times in ecstatic but intelligible speech. They claimed to receive new revelations which applied to the conditions of their time. Tertullian thus explains and defends progressive revelation: 'The reason why the Lord sent the Paraclete was, that since human mediocrity was unable to take in all things at once, discipline should little by little be directed and ordained and carried on to perfection, by that vicar of the Lord, the Holy Spirit. . . . What then is the Paraclete's administrative office but this: the direction of discipline, the revelation of the scripture, the re-formation of the intellect, the advancement toward "better things"'?[2] The scope of the revelations are here extended to the normal life of believers. But the only

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, E. tr., ii. p. 97, note 3.
[2] *De Virg. Vel.*, i.

actually new points in the content of the Montanist teaching were stricter views on marriage and fasting—forbidding second marriages and instituting additional fasts—and a more puritanical exercise of moral discipline in the Church. 'It is on this account that the new prophecies are rejected: not that Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, nor that they disjoin Jesus Christ, nor that they overturn any particular rule of faith or hope, but that they plainly teach more frequent fasting than marrying.'[1] The Church objected to the manner and the professions of the new prophecy rather than to its content. Ecstatic phenomena had ceased, and had been forgotten, and were now believed to be contrary to the custom and tradition of the Church. Moreover, the Montanists set up the ecstatic deliverances of frenzied men and women against and above the growing organisation of the Church. Prophecy in the New Testament and Montanist sense, as the immediate deliverance of present divine revelations, could not exist side by side with a fixed rule of faith, and a closed canon of divine oracles, guarded by an order of officers established by an external rule of succession. Therefore the new prophecy, and the only surviving prophecy, was condemned and expelled from the Church as a work of the devil.[2]

14. It is not possible to draw a hard and fast distinction between the abnormal phenomena of the Spirit and its normal operations in the sphere of the moral and religious life. Prophecy easily merges into teaching and evangelising, while on the other hand, the whole life of the Church and all its functions are gifts of the Spirit, and in a sense abnormal and supernatural. Yet a broad distinction can be recognised between those gifts, limited to a few and restricted within a short period of time, which therefore were regarded as abnormal and miraculous in a very

[1] Tert., *De Jejun.*, i.

[2] Harnack, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 52 ff., 95-108; Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 48; Salmon, art. 'Montanism' in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; Weinel, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-101.

special way, and the spiritual experiences which are co-extensive with the Christian life, and which, therefore, at the level of the religious life, are normal and regular.

In the records of the early years of the Church, the Spirit is not associated with the normal life of believers, but rather with unusual events and special persons. Yet the conditions for the extension of the sphere of the Spirit already appear in Acts, where the whole body of believers are said to be filled with the Holy Spirit (ii. 4, iv. 31, xiii. 52). And the endowment of 'the seven' with wisdom brings a normal element within the range of the Spirit (vi. 3, 10). But it was Paul who brought the whole Christian life within the sphere of the operation of the Spirit. Before him, even abnormal gifts might be attributed to other agents, but he describes them all as gifts of 'the one and the same Spirit.' And in his teaching, the Spirit also became the creator and sustainer of the new life of peace with God, and of holiness, which constitutes the Christian and is the essence of his life. 'The (early) community regarded as pneumatic the extraordinary in the Christian life, Paul the usual; they what was characteristic of individuals, and he what was common to all; they the impulsive, he the permanent; they isolated elements in the Christian life, he the Christian life itself.' [1] It is not quite clear, however, whether Paul carried the activity of the Spirit back to the very beginning of the Christian life. In Acts, the bestowal of the charismatic Spirit is sometimes represented as following upon repentance, faith and baptism, and as mediated by the laying on of the hands of the apostles (ii. 38, viii. 17, 18) or of another disciple (ix. 17), but it descended on the household of Cornelius while Peter was speaking, and before their baptism (x. 44, 47). In the fourth gospel, the doctrine of the new birth 'of water and the Spirit' constitutes the Spirit the author of the new life in the Kingdom of God

[1] Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

(iii. 5). If by 'water' is meant baptism, the writer regards baptism, and the agency of the Spirit, as coincident conditions of entering into the Kingdom of God; yet the action of the Spirit is the controlling fact (iii. 6). The mystery of the origin of the new life is the mystery of the action of the Spirit, which, like its namesake the wind, appears and disappears, acts and ceases, in a way that man cannot trace (iii. 8). But its agency is the condition of entrance into the new and heavenly life of the Kingdom. Yet the author does not maintain this position consistently, and it does not fit in well with the later teaching about the Paraclete, who would only come after Christ's departure. And elsewhere believers are also said to be born of God (i. 12, 13). The Logos is the light which lighteth every man (i. 9). Jesus Himself is the bread of life, which 'giveth life unto the world' (vi. 35, 33). But again, Christ's words are spirit and life (vi. 63).

15. Paul does not use the metaphor of the new birth (with the possible exception of 1 Cor. iv. 15). His chief term for the first moment of the Christian life is justification by faith; and justification is absolutely an act of God, which is realised in human experience when faith responds to the grace of God. And in some passages, at least, faith is represented as the condition of receiving the Spirit (Gal. iii. 2, 14). It is the gift of God (Ro. xii. 3; Phil. i. 29), given through the preaching of the word (Ro. x. 17). It has therefore been held that Paul shared with the early Church the idea that the Spirit was first bestowed in baptism.[1] But the passages quoted in support of this view (1 Cor. xii. 13, vi. 11; cf. Tit. iii. 5-7) only state that the Spirit was present in baptism, and do not preclude its earlier operation. And they also show that the order of Paul's phraseology cannot be insisted upon strictly to determine his idea as to the order and succession of the component factors in the new life. In 1 Cor. vi. 11 the order of terms is—washing

[1] Gunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-2.

(=baptism ?), sanctification, justification, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Spirit of God. In Tit. iii. 5-7, justification and the inheritance of eternal life follow upon baptism and the renewing of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, passages occur where the Spirit and faith are intimately bound up together (2 Cor. iv. 13), and where the operation of the Spirit is presupposed in faith and justification. Paul's preaching to the Corinthians was in the demonstration of the Spirit, and that determined the nature of their faith (1 Cor. ii. 4, 5). They were his epistle 'written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God' (2 Cor. iii. 3), which implies that Paul's preaching in the power of the Spirit worked the conversion of the Corinthians. Even more significant is the fact that Paul describes as works of the Spirit those elements of Christian experience which are coincident with the realisation of justification, and which cannot be separated from it, either in time or as psychological facts. The experiencing of divine sonship, of adoption, is the act of the Spirit in our hearts crying Abba, Father (Gal. iv. 6; Ro. viii. 15, 16). And adoption is the same experience as justification by faith, but with more explicit reference to the divine Fatherhood. Liberty, peace, and joy are correlative factors in the same moment of experience, and they are all attributed to the Holy Spirit (Ro. viii. 2, 6, xiv. 17; Gal. v. 22; 1 Thess. i. 6). In the allegory of Abraham's two sons, Paul contrasts the state of bondage under the law with that of liberty under grace, and defines the one as being after the flesh, but the other after the Spirit (Gal. iv. 21-29). His teaching on the whole then agrees with that of the Fourth Gospel, that the first great moment of the new life, whether it be called justification by faith, the realisation of sonship, or peace with God, is a work of the Holy Spirit, through the preaching of the word. But he does not indicate very clearly the exact logical or historical sequence of the various elements in the experience, and it may be doubted whether he would have entertained any idea

of sequence within the complex experience of justification.[1]

16. That Paul regarded the subsequent development of Christian life and character as in its totality the work of the Spirit is not questioned. All the Christian virtues are the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22, 23). It is the Spirit of holiness (Ro. i. 4), of sanctification (2 Thess. ii. 13), and of a new life (Ro. vii. 6). Love, the greatest of Christian graces, is the pre-eminent gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. xiii.; Col. i. 8; Ro. xv. 30), not only as a grace of character, but also as the principle of unity in the Church (Eph. iv. 1-6, cf. ii. 18, 23). The Spirit bestows wisdom and knowledge on the individual and in the Church. Paul spoke 'God's wisdom in a mystery . . . through the Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God' (1 Cor. ii. 7-10). 'For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom, and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit' (xii. 8). All Christian knowledge was derived from the Spirit both by Paul and by John (Eph. i. 17, 23, iii. 16-19; John xvi. 13; 1 John ii. 20, 27; cf. Jas. i. 5, iii. 15, 17). It was the power manifested in the resurrection of Christ (Ro. i. 4), in the inner life of man (Ro. xv. 13; Eph. iii. 16), and in the preaching of the word (1 Thess. i. 5; 1 Cor. ii. 4). It is the Spirit of life, both now and hereafter (1 Cor. xv. 45; Gal. vi. 8); and the Spirit of assurance, the guarantee of the new life, whereby man obtains confidence towards God and courage in the face of the world's evil (2 Cor. i. 22; Ro. v. 5, viii. 16, 23; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30). Man, therefore, as the dwelling-place of the Spirit, is the inalienable possession of God (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17, vi. 19).

As the Christian life in the individual is the work of the Spirit, it follows that the corporate realisation of that life, in the Church built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, is also its creation. Although the manifestations of the Spirit in the early community were the abnormal

[1] E. Sokolowski, *Die Begriffe Geist und Leben bei Paulus*, pp. 67-79.

experiences of particular individuals, yet the great creative acts and significant turning-points were recognised, either by the Church or by its historian, as determined by the Spirit. The Spirit confirmed and preserved the community from the outset, by the descent at Pentecost (Acts ii. 4). The extension of the Gospel beyond Judea and the first mission to the Gentiles were commanded and approved by the Spirit (viii. 29, x. 19, 44, xiii. 2, 4). Paul, on his journeys, was led by the Spirit (xvi. 6, 7). He himself was especially conscious that his whole ministry was inspired by the Holy Ghost (Ro. xv. 18, 19). All the apostles were conspicuously men of the Spirit. The Spirit guided the Church in the creation of organisation and officers (Acts vi. 3, xx. 28). The first three gifts of the Spirit which God had set in the Church were apostles, prophets, and teachers, in addition to which the whole Church had a gift of government (1 Cor. xii. 4, 28). The decisions of the first council of the Church were first of all the decrees of the Spirit (Acts xv. 28). Paul had preached and created churches by the power of the Spirit (1 Cor. ii. 4; 1 Thess. i. 5, 6; Gal. iii. 2). In one Spirit were all believers baptized into one body (1 Cor. xii. 13; cf. Phil. i. 27). The Spirit therefore dwells in the Church as the principle of its entire united and common life (Eph. ii. 18, 22; cf. 1 Cor. iii. 16).

CHAPTER V

THE SPIRIT OF JESUS CHRIST

A SURVEY of spirit phenomena in the first two centuries of the Christian era has revealed the universal prevalence of belief in the agency of spirits, and has shown that the Christian Church claimed the possession of special gifts, due to the operation of spiritual beings, of God, of the risen Christ, of the Holy Spirit and of angels, that in the Pauline and Johannine literature, all kinds of spiritual phenomena were attributed to the Holy Spirit, its operation being extended to the entire moral and religious life of believers, and that the Church gradually defined its claim to the possession of all gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit, spiritual phenomena outside the Church, and outside the Catholic Church, being attributed to evil spirits.

In the present chapter an attempt will be made to set forth the teaching of the New Testament as to the precise sphere of the Spirit's operations, as to its nature, and as to its essential relations to other spirits, in particular to God, to Jesus Christ and to man—an attempt to define more precisely the extent and intent of the New Testament idea of the Holy Spirit.

I

1. One notable limitation of the sphere assigned to the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, as compared with Hebrew and Jewish literature, is that it is nowhere described as the agent of creation or as a cosmic principle. It does

not act upon external nature, and it stands in no causal relation to the physical universe. God made the world and all things therein (Acts xvii. 24; Ro. i. 20); and both Paul and John conceive Christ or the Logos as the medium of creation and as the reason and end of the universe (1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16; John i. 3; cf. Heb. i. 2). But in their teaching, as in the rest of the New Testament, the Holy Spirit acts only upon humanity. In one instance only was it conceived as acting in any way in the physical sphere, where it mediated the miraculous birth of Jesus Christ (Mt. i. 18; Lk. i. 35), and that act lay within the sphere of human life. Otherwise its operations lay entirely within the field of conscious experience. The Christian Church realised the fact of the Spirit first as a living, present, overpowering, unique, and exalted experience.

2. Another definition of the sphere of the Spirit, the Church carried over from Jewish theology. (All its actions were good.) The old Hebrew idea that the Spirit of God worked both good and evil had given place to the doctrine of divine holiness and of the dualism of the spiritual world. It was now the Holy Spirit of the Holy God. All evil was the work of the hostile kingdom of the devil and his demons. It is therefore assumed everywhere in the New Testament that the Spirit could only work that which was good. Moreover, Christians believed from the beginning, on the day of Pentecost, that the Spirit was only given through Jesus Christ (Acts ii. 33, x. 38; John xvi. 7, xx. 22), and only in and through those who were of the company of His disciples (Acts xix. 2-6). But some spiritual phenomena, such as exorcism, were already common outside the Christian circle, and others, like glossolalia and ecstatic prophecy, were so new and strange that it was not always easy to determine either their source and cause or their moral quality. The Church therefore found it necessary at a very early period to prove and discern the spirits, and to determine what spiritual phenomena emanated from good and from evil spirits

respectively (1 Cor. xii. 3, 10; 2 Cor. xi. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 2). At the level of a national religion like Judaism, the problem was easily solved. A nation's gods were its own, and its devils were the gods of other nations, especially of its hostile neighbours. The God of Israel and His attendant spirits worked whatever was favourable to Israel, and those were good works; while in opposition to them, the gods and spirits of other nations were the hosts of evil that afflicted Israel. As in Aryan mythology, the devas or gods of the Hindus became the daevas or evil spirits of the Persians, and the ahuras or good spirits of the Persians became the asuras or evil spirits of the Hindus; so Baalzebub, the god of the Philistine city of Ekron, developed into Beelzebub, the chief of devils among the Jews, and all the Gentile demons were reckoned as evil spirits, and all their works were evil. All spiritual phenomena therefore that were favourable to the Jews were the works of good spirits, and all that were hostile were the works of evil spirits.

3. But the problem was not so simple for the early Christians. They soon felt the spirit of a universal religion urging them beyond all national boundaries, and working the same effects among Gentiles as among Jews (Acts x. 44, xv. 8). The criterion of nationalism was not available for the universal religion. The attitude of the Jews towards Jesus Christ, and their allegation that He worked His miracles through Beelzebub, revealed the need of discerning the Christian spirits from the Jewish, and the disciples found it necessary to repudiate both Jewish and heathen spiritual phenomena as the works of evil spirits. But it was not at all clear at first what the ground of differentiation was, nor why the company of disciples considered themselves a closed fellowship, which had a monopoly both of the power of the name of Jesus and of the Messianic Spirit. It is not clear why the sons of Sceva, who attempted to exorcise in the name of Jesus, were denied the power of the name, for they did not perceptibly

differ from those other Jewish exorcists who, during the life-time of Jesus, cast out demons in His name, without following in His company (Mk. ix. 38; cf. Mt. xii. 27, vii. 22).

4. The first principle of differentiation was laid down by Paul, when dealing with the problems of the spiritual phenomena that had arisen at Corinth. Although the references to evil spirits in Paul's writings are comparatively few, he, like Luther, was profoundly convinced of the activity of evil spirits in the world.[1] Satan was the god of this world (2 Cor. iv. 4), who hindered Paul's own work and afflicted his person (1 Thess. ii. 18; 2 Cor. xii. 7).

In the confusion of spiritual phenomena, such as that which reigned at Corinth, it was therefore possible that evil spirits, as well as the Holy Spirit, inspired some of the manifestations. One in particular Paul singles out as being in obvious contradiction to the work of the Spirit of God: 'No man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema' (cursed be Jesus). On the other hand, 'No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit' (1 Cor. xii. 3). It is difficult to conceive the state of mind of a member of a Christian congregation who would curse the name of Jesus. Yet it is evident that at Corinth, people gave way to such uncontrollable frenzy, that either in folly, or in momentary reversion to Judaism or heathenism, they cursed the name in whose honour they had met. The will had abandoned control of the self, and impressions, impulses, tendencies, and ideas which had before been consciously or sub-consciously inhibited by faith in Jesus Christ, now rushed forth into the centre of consciousness, and for the time became the man's self and used its organs of expression. For the moment, the man became a Jew or a heathen, who hated the very name of Jesus.[2] According to the psychology of Paul's time, this plurality and contradiction of selves were attributed

[1] Weinel, *St. Paul, the Man and His Work*, E. tr., pp. 27-34.
[2] See Stout, *Manual of Psychology*, bk. IV., ch. vii. 3, 4, x. 9, 10.

to a plurality of contrary spirits that influenced the man and caused his actions. But the spirit that inspired disloyalty to Jesus Christ could not be the Holy Spirit, for in Paul's experience and theology, the two beings were, if not identical, at least in perfect harmony of principle and action. This, then, was Paul's first criterion for deciding which spiritual phenomena could be approved by Christians as the work of the Holy Spirit. They must be *loyal to Jesus Christ* as Lord of life, and as the object of faith and love for every believer.

5. Another criterion was *loyalty to the community of Christ* both as gathered congregation and as organised church. The pride of spiritual gifts had led the Corinthians to jealousy and strife. They had divided into factions owning the leadership, one of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas, and another of Christ. But such factions, the apostle tells them, were not characteristics of the 'spiritual' but of the carnal. To divide the Church was to destroy the temple of God, where the Holy Spirit dwelt among them (1 Cor. iii. 1, 3, 16). And the very gifts about which they quarrelled should have been a power to unite them, for they all proceeded from one and the same Spirit, from one and the same Lord, from one and the same God, who worketh all in all (1 Cor. xii. 4 ff.). The Spirit was indeed the principle of unity in the Church, 'for in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body' (1 Cor. xii. 13).[1] Therefore to divide the Church was to drive away the Spirit. But even short of schism, the Corinthian frenzy injured the Church by creating within it confusion and disorder, and so proved itself alien from the Spirit of God. 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.' Men should not lose control of themselves so far as to utter meaningless ejaculations in the congregation, or to speak all at the same time in bewildering confusion. All speaking in the congregation should be orderly and intelligible, for the edification of the hearers.

[1] See Weinel, *op. cit.*, E. tr., pp. 25-33.

The tests of spiritual phenomena in the life of the community, and the proofs that they were of the Holy Spirit, were unity, order, and edification.

6. The sovereign antidote against strife and confusion, the supreme principle of unity and service in the Church, was also the greatest gift of the Spirit, and the perfect and abiding proof of its presence, namely, love. This introduces a third criterion of the Spirit, and on the wider stage of the moral life. It is *loyalty to the moral ideal of Christ.* 'If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk' (Gal. v. 25). Where the Spirit dwells, it produces a new, a higher, a unique type of moral life. For Paul, the Christian life was not the normal and natural product of human activity (Ro. vii. 18), but a gracious divine gift, received by the descent of the Spirit into the human heart, for 'the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance' (Gal. v. 22, 23). And there is yet one higher manifestation of the Spirit, the participation in the divine sonship of Jesus Christ. 'And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father' (Gal. iv. 6). Where sonship is, there the Spirit is. On the other hand, 'as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God' (Ro. viii. 14). Where the Spirit leads, there sonship is. The Spirit works within the sphere of sonship and produces the sonship within which it works. At this level, cause and effect, the fact and its evidence, the Spirit and its work, are all but identical. The possession of the Spirit and participation in Christ's sonship are but two aspects of the same experience. Here, the phenomenon, if it may be so called, bears its own credentials. Sonship is a self-evident work of the Spirit. But the evidence is available only for its owner. In order that the Spirit of adoption may attest itself to others, it must issue in the life according to the Spirit, by walking in the Spirit and bearing the fruit of the Spirit.

The criteria which Paul therefore sets forth for the guidance of the Church, that it may know where the Holy Spirit works, and what spiritual phenomena are its gifts, are the first three: the constant recognition of Christ's lordship in the individual life, the realisation of His love in the Church, and living His life in all moral relations. Where Christ reigns, where brothers serve one another in the order and unity of love, and where they live the high morality of Christ's gospel, there, and nowhere else, the Spirit always dwells and works. These tests may still be subjective and indefinite, but they have the merit of measuring 'spiritual things by spiritual things' (1 Cor. ii. 13), and Paul refrained from attempting to delimit the action of the Spirit by any external and formal boundaries, whether of sacrament, order, or dogma.

7. But as doctrinal differences grew within the Church, a tendency soon set in to formulate more definite and objective tests of the Spirit. A system like Gnosticism undoubtedly diverged widely from the central meaning and purpose of Christianity, and it might, and perhaps did, issue in a lower type of moral life. But the Church was not content to know divergent doctrines by their fruits, nor to deal with them by argument and persuasion, as Paul had done, at least in his earlier letters. Teachers of asceticism in respect of marriage and meats were those who 'gave heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils' (1 Tim. iv. 1). The Docetists were false prophets: 'Hereby know ye the Spirit of God; every Spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus [in the flesh] is not of God' (1 John iv. 2, 3). Orthodox belief was thus made into a test of the presence of the Spirit. The growth of the Canon of the New Testament further circumscribed the working of the Spirit within the period in which the canonical scriptures were written. Finally, the rise of the priestly ministry limited the communication of the grace of the Spirit to the acts, functions, and sacraments

administered by this exclusive order. Thus, by rapid stages, the Church arrived at the hard and fast formula of Irenaeus: 'Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God'; and the Church is only where the tradition of the apostles has been preserved by the succession of bishops.[1]

Three different stages may now be observed in the definition of the sphere of the Spirit. At first it worked within the company of the primitive disciples, and produced such new phenomena as glossolalia and prophecy, but no reasons were defined why its operations were circumscribed within these limits. Then Paul laid down certain moral and religious principles as the conditions of the Spirit's presence and working: they were loyalty to Christ as Lord, manifested in a common life of love in the Church, and in a new type of morality, conformable to Christ's ideal. Finally, Catholic theology in the second century defined the sphere of the Spirit by the threefold rule of canon, creed, and episcopate. And these criteria remained in force till the Reformation, except that the threefold rule was defined more rigidly and enforced with greater authority. In the first century, the Spirit was known by its manifestations, but in the second century and afterwards, by the rule of the Church, and any spiritual phenomena that did not conform to that rule were attributed to evil spirits.[2]

II

1. How did the apostolic age conceive the nature and being of this agent that worked within man, and worked the work of Christ by the power of God? What was its relation to man, to Jesus Christ, and to God? The first disciples adopted their doctrine of the Holy Spirit from Palestinian Judaism. It was the Spirit of prophecy and promise, given by God the Father, and poured forth by

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, III. iii. 1-3, xxiv. 1.
[2] See Sabatier, *The Religions of Authority, and the Religion of the Spirit.*

the exalted Messiah (Acts ii. 33). It was a heavenly being, distinct from God and subordinate to Him, distinct also from Jesus Christ, and on the whole co-ordinate with Him; for while He poured forth the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, God also anointed Him with the Holy Spirit (Acts x. 38) and He spoke through the Holy Spirit (i. 2). Such expressions as that the Spirit was poured out, was given, was received, that men were baptized with it, anointed with it, filled with it, suggest that it was thought of as impersonal and semi-material, as a kind of fluid influence or power that came from God upon men. Its predominant attributes were power (i. 8, x. 38) and wisdom (vi. 3, 10). Other expressions represent it as standing in personal relations. It spake through David (i. 16, iv. 25), commanded Philip and Peter (viii. 29, xi. 12), and seized Philip (viii. 39). Ananias lied to it and tempted it (v. 3, 9), and that was tantamount to lying to God (v. 4). It appointed the first mission to the Gentiles (xiii. 2-4) and guided the steps of Paul and Silas (xvi. 6, 7). It gave decisions at the Council of Jerusalem (xv. 28) and foretold Paul's capture at Jerusalem (xx. 22, 23). It was therefore somewhat vaguely conceived as a heavenly being, issuing from God and Christ, and on occasion assuming a personal character and entering into personal relations. The use of the term spirit for human personality necessarily implied some degree of personality in every spirit. Yet the personal relation was at the best incomplete. It was not reciprocal. Neither in vision, nor in prayer, nor in any form of worship, did the disciples address the Spirit, or come face to face with it, as they did with the risen Christ (Acts vii. 59, ix. 5, 10 ff.) and with God (iv. 24), and even with an angel (x. 3 ff.). The personality of the Spirit was neither as vivid nor as familiar as that of the exalted Christ and of God.[1] The primitive Christian idea represented no advance upon the Jewish doctrine, nor did the first disciples modify that doctrine by any specula-

[1] Jules Lebreton, *Les Origines du dogme de la Trinité*, p. 287.

tion as to the relation of the Spirit to the exalted Christ. They tended to attribute the new phenomena of glossolalia and prophecy to the Holy Spirit (ii. 4, xi. 28), and healings and exorcisms to Jesus Christ (iii. 6, xix. 13). Traditional Hebrew ideas of the Spirit, and the expectation of its descent in the Messianic age, naturally led the disciples to attribute to it the new phenomena of enthusiasm ; but it had not in the past been associated with miracles of healing and exorcism. The disciples had witnessed Jesus Christ performing these latter works, and their belief in His resurrection was naturally accompanied by the conviction that He still worked similar miracles through their agency. They felt no need and made no attempt further to define the relation between the two groups of phenomena, nor between the two heavenly beings whom they regarded as their authors.

2. Paul made the first advance along this line of thought also. He included all gifts and miracles under the agency of the Spirit, and extended its working over the whole of the moral and inner life of man. Yet, he was even more conscious of the presence and power of the living Christ over the whole region of experience in which the Spirit worked. Paul's teaching therefore deals with the problem of the relation of the Spirit to the inner life of man, which it pervades, and with that of its ultimate nature and status as a heavenly being in relation to Christ and to God. But Paul's teaching was by no means systematic. It cannot be assumed that he employed terms always in the same sense, nor even that each word with him represented a single definite idea and no more.[1] On the contrary, his use of the term spirit is peculiarly elastic and fluid. Not only is it used in a variety of different senses, but in many passages it is difficult to discover which of its meanings is present.

Yet his references to the Spirit are sufficiently clear and abundant to reveal quite a new and distinctive type of

[1] Dickson, *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, p. 96.

doctrine. He filled the term with a wider and profounder moral content, and by its close association with the living Christ, he lifted its whole meaning to a higher level of religious experience. In enriching its connotation, he tended to limit its denotation, even more than early Christian thought had done. Once indeed he uses the word *pneuma* with the sense of breath (2 Thess. ii. 8), which is not found elsewhere in the New Testament, although it is found once or twice perhaps with its original meaning of wind (? John iii. 8; ? Heb. i. 7). Paul nowhere conceives the Spirit as a power in nature or as a cosmic principle. A more characteristic limitation of the range of the idea, and one peculiar to Paul, is that he rarely, if ever, refers to evil *spirits* as such. The few passages in which evil spirits are definitely mentioned appear in the later epistles, of doubtful authenticity. 'The prince of the power of the air' is 'the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience' (Eph. ii. 2); and his army, with which the Christians wrestle, is 'the spiritual *hosts* of wickedness in the heavenly places' (vi. 12). Heretics were those who gave heed to 'seducing spirits and doctrines of demons' (1 Tim. iv. 1). In the earlier epistles also mention is made of 'the spirit of the world' (1 Cor. ii. 12), of a 'spirit of bondage' (Ro. viii. 15), 'a spirit of stupor' (Ro. xi. 8), and of 'a different spirit' from that which inspired the apostles (2 Cor. xi. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 2); and in a later epistle 'a spirit of fear' (2 Tim. i. 7). The phrase 'spirit of stupor' is quoted from the Old Testament (Is. xxix. 10), and all the others, which are also Hebraic in character, occur in negative sentences, where the idea is proposed to be immediately denied.[1] Even if all these passages were Pauline, and the fullest affirmative significance were given to them, it remains clear that the popular idea of evil spirits played but a small part in Paul's thought. Demons he only mentions five times. It was not that Paul did not believe in evil spirits, for

[1] H. W. Robinson, *Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*, pp. 80 ff., 110 ff.

Satan occupied a prominent place in his thought, but that he discarded popular demonology, and expressed the conflict of good and evil in terms of more immanent principles of moral experience. The spirit is his most comprehensive term for the principle of the good.

3. Some writers have therefore held that Paul conceived spirit as the antithesis of flesh, in a system of metaphysical and moral dualism, which he had learnt from Greek philosophy. Paul's thought tended to run into the form of pairs of antitheses,[1] and spirit appears as the antithesis both to flesh (Ro. viii. 4-13; Gal. iii. 3, iv. 29, v. 16-25, vi. 8; Col. ii. 5) and to letter (Ro. ii. 29, vii. 6; 2 Cor. iii. 6, 8). But while in all these cases spirit is a good principle, and in several of them flesh is the embodiment or instrument of the evil principle (*e.g.* Ro. viii. 7; Gal. v. 17-19), yet in other cases flesh is obviously a morally neutral element, and was regarded only as a constituent element in human nature (*e.g.* Ro. i. 3; 1 Cor. xv. 39; 2 Cor. v. 16, vii. 1; Col. ii. 5). But although flesh and spirit do not in themselves involve a moral dualism, they are physically and metaphysically so distinct and different, that they almost naturally and quite regularly become the seat and manifestation of the moral antitheses of good and evil, life and death, sin and righteousness, in human nature. The spirit in man always, or nearly always, is represented by Paul as working that which is good, and the flesh easily lends itself to be the seat and instrument of corruption, sin, and death.

Another inference which some writers have drawn from Paul's idea of the spirit as good is that he regarded it, not as an original constituent part of human nature at all, but as the Spirit of God, which was bestowed upon man only in his regenerate state.[2] But many passages in Paul's letters refer unmistakably to the human

[1] Holtzmann, *N. T. Theologie*, ii. p. 19, note 2.

[2] Baur and Holsten. See Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist*; Dickson, *op. cit.*; Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 15-22; Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, E. tr., ii. 35-48.

spirit as such, without any presupposition as to its moral or religious state. The spirit of man is definitely contrasted with the Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 11). Paul affirms his presence in the spirit with the Corinthians, in the sense of being present with them in thought (1 Cor. v. 3, 4). Several times in greetings he uses 'your spirits' for 'you' (Gal. vi. 18; Phil. iv. 23; Philem. 25). Spirit is used with flesh and soul to denote the whole natural constitution of man (2 Cor. vii. 1; 1 Thess. v. 23; Col. ii. 5; cf. Ro. i. 9, viii. 16, xii. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 34, xvi. 18; 2 Cor. ii. 13, vii. 13). It may be concluded then, that Paul used the term spirit both of the higher element in the natural constitution of man, and of the divine Spirit.

4. But he had also an intermediate conception between these two, which is the most characteristic part of his doctrine. The Christian man is spiritual, not only as possessing a human spirit, but because that spirit is further endowed with the grace of the divine Spirit, and is thereby transformed into the likeness and quality of the divine Spirit, until the one becomes almost indistinguishable from the other, and this divine-human spirit is the essence of his being and the ruling principle of all his actions.

Paul's writings abound in terms that express the new, unique, and supernatural character of the Christian life. It is a new creation (Gal. vi. 15; 2 Cor. v. 17), a new man (Col. iii. 10), a newness of life (Ro. vi. 4), the inward man (Ro. vii. 22; 2 Cor. iv. 16), and the indwelling of Christ (Gal. ii. 20); Christians are God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus (Eph. ii. 10), God's fellow-workers, God's husbandry, God's building (1 Cor. iii. 9), God's elect, foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son, justified, sanctified, glorified (Ro. viii. 29, 30; 1 Cor. vi. 11). And all this he brings especially under the category of the Spirit. 'But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you' (Ro. viii. 9). The Spirit comprehends, permeates, and controls the Christian life as the atmosphere in which it breathes and

the principle by which it lives. The Galatians had begun the Christian life 'in the Spirit' (Gal. iii. 3), and permanent deliverance from the bondage of law, flesh, and sin consisted in 'walking by the Spirit' (v. 16, 18, 25). 'The kingdom of God is . . . righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit' (Ro. xiv. 17). In different phraseology, the Spirit of God dwells in the believer, and creates and constitutes the distinctive elements of his Christian experience (1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19). It is the immanent principle of life and power which sets the believer free from law and letter, from sin and death (2 Cor. iii. 6; Ro. viii. 2, 13). All the moral factors that constitute his experience and character are the work and fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22, 23; Ro. viii. 23). The Spirit itself is designated and defined as the spirit of life (Ro. viii. 2, 10), of faith (2 Cor. iv. 13), of meekness (Gal. vi. 1; 1 Cor. iv. 21), of sanctification (2 Thess. ii. 13), of holiness (Ro. i. 4), of wisdom (Eph. i. 17), of fellowship and unity (Phil. ii. 1; Eph. iv. 2). It is the earnest and assurance of the new life in man (2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5). Above all, it is the Spirit of adoption, the Spirit of God's Son, the participation in the filial relation of Christ to God, the experience of divine sonship, 'whereby we cry, Abba, Father' (Ro. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6). Therefore the Christian man may be called altogether spiritual (1 Cor. ii. 15, cf. xiv. 37). All the resources of his life are also spiritual, the gift imparted through Paul's ministry (Ro. i. 11), the gospel that went forth from Jerusalem to the Gentiles (Ro. xv. 27), the endowment of the Christian prophets (1 Cor. xii. 1, xiv. 1), and even the symbols of the Old Testament that pointed forward to the gospel (1 Cor. x. 3, 4; Gal. iv. 29). So completely does the Spirit comprehend and constitute the Christian life, that although Paul recognises a natural human spirit, yet in regenerate man the divine Spirit all but replaces or absorbs the human ego and all its states and activities. Of the parallel (or identical) conception of the indwelling Christ, Paul declares, 'It is

no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me' (Gal. ii. 20). Yet the absorption of the human self by the divine Spirit is not quite complete. Alongside with 'Christ liveth in me' stands 'I live.' And the Spirit of adoption which in our hearts crieth 'Abba, Father,' also 'beareth witness with our spirit' (Ro. viii. 16). It helpeth our infirmity, and maketh intercession for *us* (viii. 26). Morally, the divine Spirit so permeates and possesses the regenerate man that his ideas, aims, disposition, acts, the whole of his effective personality, is the work of the Holy Spirit, yet ontologically the human spirit retains its distinction and independence. The Spirit gives all and does all, yet man remains himself that he may receive and enjoy, and that the fruit of the Spirit may grow and multiply in a kingdom of selves.

5. While the Spirit is thus an immanent power and principle of life in man, and its manifestation and working are indistinguishable from the states and activities of the human mind, it is also a transcendent being, the Spirit of God (Ro. viii. 9; 1 Cor. iii. 16), which knoweth the mind of God and is of God (1 Cor. ii. 11, 12), supplied by God (Gal. iii. 5) and received by man (iii. 3). It is the Holy Spirit 'given unto us' (Ro. v. 8) by God (1 Thess. iv. 8), 'which ye have from God' (1 Cor. vi. 19). As in Jewish thought, so in Paul, the term Holy Spirit denoted the transcendence of the Spirit as Spirit of God, and its separation from all evil and sin. Carnal impurity is condemned because the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. vi. 19). To choose uncleanness instead of sanctification is to reject God, who giveth the Holy Spirit (1 Thess. iv. 8).

The association of the Spirit with Jesus Christ is also such as to imply its distinction from man's own spirit. The Spirit of God is identified with the Spirit of Christ (Ro. viii. 9). 'God sent forth the Spirit of His Son' (Gal. iv. 6). It is called 'the Spirit of Jesus Christ' (Phil. i. 19; cf. Acts xvi. 7). In one place, Paul categorically affirms that 'the Lord is the Spirit' (2 Cor. iii. 17),

and the title 'the Lord the Spirit' implies a similar identity, as does also the statement that Christ 'the last Adam *became* a life-giving Spirit' (1 Cor. xv. 45). In so far as these passages identify the Spirit with the risen and exalted Christ, they distinguish it from the spirit of man in whom it dwells.

6. But here another problem emerges, that of the relation of the transcendent Spirit to God and to the living Christ. An increasing tendency was traced in Jewish theology to conceive the Spirit as a distinct hypostasis, and the same way of thinking seems to have prevailed in popular Christianity. But it has been urged that Paul reverted to the older Hebrew view, and conceived the Spirit as God in action. It is often called the Spirit of God, but it is also called the Spirit of Christ, and to infer personal identity from this form of expression would involve the personal identity of Christ with God, an idea which was far from Paul's mind. In one passage, he compares the Spirit of God in relation to God and the spirit of man in relation to man (1 Cor. ii. 11), but an analogy or illustration cannot be pressed to imply a complete parallelism, or that His Spirit stands to God in all respects as man's spirit does to him. More significant is the fact that Paul ascribes the same functions and results to the Spirit as to God. 'Ye are a temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you' (1 Cor. iii. 16). The work of sanctification is attributed both to God and to the Spirit (cf. 1 Thess. v. 23 with Ro. xv. 16; 1 Thess. iv. 7, 8). Paul's preaching was in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, so that the faith of the Corinthians might be in the power of God (1 Cor. ii. 4, 5). Of the diversities of spiritual gifts it is said, 'the same God who worketh all things in all,' and 'all these worketh the one and the same Spirit' (1 Cor. xii. 6, 11). It has been therefore inferred that the Spirit is but a special form of God's activity.[1] But, on the other hand, the Spirit is also represented as standing over against

[1] I. F. Wood, *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature*, pp. 231-2.

God, and pleading for men (Ro. viii. 26 ff.), and it is placed in co-ordination with the Father and Son (2 Cor. xiii. 14; 1 Cor. xii. 4-6). The Spirit was in effect God working in and through men. But Paul also conceived it as distinguishable from God, though the distinction is not precisely defined, nor perhaps constantly maintained.

7. The apostle's conception of the relation of the Spirit to Christ renders more patent its distinction from God. Primitive and popular Christian thought distinguished clearly between the Spirit and Christ. The one was the Spirit of Old Testament promise, and the other was the historical person they had known in the flesh. Paul's position was quite different. He began his Christian life with a vision and an experience of the exalted Christ. Whether he had known Christ in the flesh or not (2 Cor. v. 16), He had significance for his experience only as the risen Christ. As the encounter on the way to Damascus was the turning point in Paul's history, so was the crucified and risen Christ the central fact of his Christian experience, and the governing principle of his theology. He was the mediator of all divine activities and of all gifts of grace. He was the principle of creation (Col. i. 16), and the author of redemption and of the forgiveness of sins (1 Cor. i. 30; Col. i. 14). As ever-living Christ, dwelling in the hearts of men, His saving activity was co-extensive with the experience of believers, and with the life of the Church. The two conceptions, of God as the fountain and cause of power and grace, and of Christ as the agent of creation and the mediator of salvation, comprehend and exhaust the whole field of Paul's theology. And yet a wide and fruitful range of activities is assigned to the Spirit within the same field of experience and thought. But it has no distinctive province of its own. The sphere of Christ's action is wider than that of the Spirit. It includes creation, redemption, and the forgiveness of sin, as well as the rise and growth of the regenerate life. But in the regenerate life the same activities and effects are attributed both to

Jesus Christ and to the Holy Spirit. The new life is in Christ and in the Spirit (Ro. xiv. 17; 2 Cor. v. 17, vi. 7, xii. 19). Both Christ and the Spirit dwell in the believer (Gal. ii. 20; Ro. viii. 9, 10; Col. i. 27), and in the Christian community (1 Cor. iii. 16, xii. 27), and constitute the unity of the Church (Ro. xiii. 5; Phil. i. 27; Eph. iv. 3, 4). The Son and the Spirit intercede for the believer (Ro. viii. 26, 34), and bestow upon him the filial experience of adoption (Gal. iv. 4-6; Eph. i. 5). The law of the new life was the law of the Spirit in Christ Jesus (Ro. viii. 2). Both Christ and the Spirit in man war against flesh and sin (Ro. xiii. 14; Gal. v. 16-25); and both alike work in him all the graces of the Christian life, even justification and sanctification (1 Cor. i. 2, 30, vi. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 8), power (1 Cor. ii. 4, v. 4; Ro. xv. 18, 19) and righteousness (1 Cor. i. 30; Ro. xiv. 17), liberty (Gal. v. 1, 18; Ro. viii. 2; 2 Cor. iii. 17) and truth (Ro. ix. 1), wisdom, knowledge, and revelation (1 Cor. i. 30, ii. 13; Gal. i. 12; Col. ii. 3; Eph. i. 17), joy, peace, and love (Ro. v. 2, 5, xiv. 17, xv. 30; Phil. iii. 1; 1 Thess. i. 6). The moral life is the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22, 23) and the fruit of righteousness which is through Jesus Christ (Phil. i. 11). All charismatic gifts are traced equally to the Spirit, to the Lord [Jesus Christ], and to God (1 Cor. xii. 4-6). The Christian community at Corinth is described as an epistle of Christ written with the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. iii. 3). It may be concluded that over the whole field of Christian experience, Paul made no practical or effectual difference between the action of the Holy Spirit and that of the living, exalted, and immanent Christ. If the pragmatic principle,[1] 'by their fruits ye shall know them,' were applied to Paul's teaching, it might be further concluded that Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit were but two names for the same being. This view derives further confirmation from passages already quoted (2 Cor. iii. 17, 18; Ro. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6; Phil. i. 19; 1 Cor. xv. 45) in which Paul appears actually to identify

[1] W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 522-24.

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the Spirit with Christ. Another group of passages tending to the same conclusion are the opening addresses of Paul's epistles, which, with the possible exception of that to the Romans (i. 1-4), make mention only of God and Jesus Christ. The representative formula is, 'Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God . . . Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. i. 1, 2; cf. 1 Cor. i. 1-3; Gal. i. 1-3; Eph. i. 1, 2; Phil. i. 2; Col. i. 1, 2; 1 Thess. i. 1, iii. 11; 2 Thess. i. 1, ii. 16). It appears at least that Paul did not consider the triple formula necessary to express the divine origin and authority of the gospel.

8. Yet, strong as the evidence is that Paul practically and ontologically identified the exalted Christ and the Holy Spirit, it cannot be definitely affirmed that his conception of the Godhead was exclusively a duality of Father and Son. For in a number of places, he names Jesus Christ and the Spirit side by side, as if he regarded them as two co-ordinate beings (Ro. viii. 10, 11, xv. 16, 30; 1 Cor. vi. 11, xii. 3; 2 Cor. i. 21, 22; Eph. i. 17), and a few times we get the triple formula, which subsequently became the baptismal formula, and the basis of the Trinitarian creed (2 Cor. xiii. 14; 1 Cor. xii. 4-6; 2 Thess. ii. 13; ? Ro. i. 1-4). But neither a dual nor a triple formula can be consistently derived or dogmatically established from Paul's teaching. It rather reveals two different lines of thought coming together in the apostle's mind, and remaining incompletely assimilated. On the one hand, he had inherited the Jewish doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as that had been adapted by primitive and popular Christianity to explain the charismatic gifts in the Church. On the other hand, his own religious life and thought rested upon his personal experience of the living Christ, exalted to heaven, yet dwelling in the hearts of believers and in the community of saints. Since he unified the charismatic phenomena and the regenerate moral life in one organic whole, it was inevitable that Christ, who made him a new

creature, and the Spirit, which endowed the Church with the gifts characteristic of the new life, should tend to merge into one concept. Yet there is no evidence that he ever speculated on the ontological problem raised by the use of the two terms. If the epistles to the Philippians and Colossians are Paul's, he began to interpret the fact of Christ in the forms of the Logos philosophy, but the Spirit is nowhere worked by him into that scheme. In the epistle to the Colossians, where the outline of the Logos doctrine is most manifest, the idea of the Spirit falls into the background. The living Christ was the effective power and the master concept both of his faith and of his theology; Christ comprehends, fills, and absorbs the whole sphere in which the Spirit works. But Paul did not discard the older term. He uses it to define for those who knew it the exalted sphere in which Christ lived and worked. At the centre of Paul's thinking, where his thought is most his own, Christ and the Spirit are practically and essentially one; but at the circumference, where his thought speaks the language of his time, the two are formally distinct.

9. The foregoing discussion has involved some account of Paul's teaching of the general nature and personality of the Spirit. Some confusion on these points might have been avoided by a more accurate definition of the problem. Two distinct questions, that are often confused, are, whether Paul taught that the Spirit was an independent person, distinct from the Father and the Son; and, whether he taught that it was a person at all, or did he think of it as a substance, an influence, or a quality?[1] In considering the latter question, it has to be remembered that in Paul's time, the idea of personality had not been defined or distinguished from substance or quality. The question with which we are concerned therefore is, whether Paul thought and wrote about the Spirit in such a way, that we must infer that it was a person rather than an object.[2] When

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 16 and 45.
[2] G. B. Stevens, *New Testament Theology*, p. 444.

we consider its relations and effects, can we place it as a subject among subjects, or as an object among objects, or as a quality of either ?

Paul nowhere uses the term spirit in the abstract sense of divine nature, as John does (John iv. 24). But his use of the adjective 'spiritual' implies a general category of spirit. It is that which is opposed to the letter, to the flesh, to all that is weak, passive, and dead. It was both immaterial and moral. As law or principle of the new life in man (Ro. ii. 29, viii. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 6; Gal. iv. 29, v. 16), it dominates and possesses the human ego and constitutes the higher personality of the new man. God sends it (Gal. iv. 6), gives it (Ro. v. 5), supplies it (Gal. iii. 5), and man receives it, but it is always a component part and the chief part of the personal life in man at its highest. It is manifested in moral qualities as the Spirit of holiness, of life, of adoption, of faith, of meekness, and of wisdom, and these are qualities which only a personal being could possess and manifest. It is frequently associated with power, but always power manifested in personal life (1 Cor. ii. 4; Ro. xv. 19; Eph. iii. 16). In other passages, it is represented as acting upon the human personality as one over and above it. It leads (Ro. viii. 13), bears witness (viii. 16), helps (viii. 20), intercedes (viii. 26), works (1 Cor. xii. 11), speaks (1 Tim. iv. 1), searches and knows (1 Cor. ii. 10, 11), and it may be grieved (Eph. iv. 30). Further, as already shown, the Spirit as transcendent being tends to be identified with God and more often with Jesus Christ, and to that extent it is, of course, conceived as a person, though not therefore as a distinct person. It is doubtful whether Paul ever thinks of the Spirit as an abstract substance, principle, or power. It is always either a transcendent divine being who tends to be identified either with the Father or with the Son, or it is the principle and power of the new life in man, which has taken possession of his personality, to constitute it into a higher personality on a new moral plane. And so intimately are the divine

and human associated together in this higher life, that the Spirit is at once a divine person, and the most essential element in the human person (Gal. ii. 20, iv. 6).

10. Notwithstanding the incomplete development of the doctrine of the Spirit by Paul, nowhere else in the New Testament, nor indeed in subsequent Christian thought, did the conception acquire a content so rich and living as in his writings. In subsequent New Testament literature, with the exception of the Fourth Gospel, the doctrine of the Spirit relapses to the level of primitive Christianity. In the epistle to the Hebrews, the Holy Spirit appears chiefly as the author of Old Testament revelation (iii. 7, ix. 8, x. 15). There are some reminiscences also of the gift of the Spirit at the beginning of the Christian life (ii. 4, vi. 4, x. 29). But the idea does not enter into the writer's proper scheme of theology, which consists only of God and the one mediator, Jesus Christ. The writer uses the term spirit once to denote the eternal principle of divine love, which expressed itself in the self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ (ix. 14), but that had no reference to the Holy Spirit as such.

In 1 Peter a few Pauline phrases reappear (i. 2, 12, iv. 6, 14), and a new application is given to Paul's identification of the Holy Spirit with Christ, where the Spirit of Christ is represented as testifying in the Old Testament prophets (i. 11).

In 1 John the Spirit is pre-eminently a Spirit of truth, of orthodoxy, the test and guarantee of sound doctrine concerning the incarnation of Jesus Christ. None of these writings shed any light on the problems of the transcendent being or of the immanent working of the Spirit.

11. In the Fourth Gospel the influence of Paul's doctrine is more marked. Here again the idea of the Spirit has no place in the writer's own scheme of theology. In the outline of doctrine set forth in the prologue, the whole realm of transcendent being, and its relation to human

life and history, are comprehended and exhausted by God and His Logos, and no room or need is left for a third being.

The writer, however, follows the traditional account of Christ's baptism, with some variations, and represents John the Baptist as witnessing to the descent of the Spirit as a dove upon Jesus Christ, who Himself would baptize with the Holy Spirit (i. 33, cf. iii. 34).

Then in conversation with Nicodemus, Jesus expounds the doctrine of the new birth 'of water and the Spirit' more formally than Paul had done, and contrasts the Spirit absolutely with flesh (iii. 5-8). Elsewhere, the Spirit is the giver of life (vi. 63) and the principle of worship, because it is the nature of deity (iv. 23). So far the idea is quite vague and most abstract. It was part of the writer's scheme of history that 'the Spirit was not yet [given], because Jesus was not yet glorified' (vii. 39), and therefore it could not be represented by any concrete experiences.

But in the final discourses of Jesus Christ with the disciples, the promise of the Paraclete contains a more definite and concrete idea. In view of Jesus Christ's impending departure, and the loss, sorrow, and desolation which the disciples anticipate, He promises to pray the Father, and He will give them another Advocate (or Comforter), that He may be with them for ever (John xiv. 16). He is the Spirit of truth, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in Christ's own name (xiv. 16, 26). Christ will also send Him from the Father, and He proceedeth from the Father (xv. 26). It is a condition of His coming that Christ should first depart (xvi. 7). The gift is for the disciples exclusively. He will abide with the disciples and will dwell in them, but the world cannot receive Him (xiv. 17). His functions will be to teach all things, and to bring to the disciples' remembrance all that Jesus said to them; as Spirit of truth He shall guide into all truth (xvi. 13), and bear witness of Christ (xv. 26). What things soever

He shall hear shall He speak. He shall glorify Christ, for He shall take of His and declare it unto the disciples (xvi. 13, 14). Though He stands outside the world, He 'will convict the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment' (xvi. 8). Christ, after His death, breathed upon the disciples, and said unto them, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit,' and associated with the gift the power to forgive sins (xx. 22, 23). Now this account thus set forth conveys the idea of a heavenly person, sent by the Father and the ascended Christ, dwelling in the Church, guiding it into the knowledge of all truth, and especially of truth about Jesus Christ, convicting the world of sin, and bestowing upon the disciples authority to remit sins. But closer attention to the context shows that the idea is not so clear and simple, and reveals the same interchange of place and function between the Spirit and the ascended Christ as we found in Paul. The first promise of the Paraclete to abide with the disciples and to dwell with them runs on into the promise, 'I will not leave you desolate; I come unto you' (xiv. 18). Christ further associates with the Paraclete the gift of His own peace, and repeats for their consolation, 'I come unto you' (xiv. 27, 28). And the final promise of the Paraclete is followed by the words, 'A little while, and ye behold Me no more; and again a little while, and ye shall see Me' (xvi. 16). The coming of the Paraclete and the return of Jesus Christ fulfil the same purpose, and are not distinguished in fact. Elsewhere, the same writer apparently applies the title of Paraclete or Advocate to Jesus Christ in heaven (1 John ii. 1). To this should be added that not only in his Logos theology, but in his doctrine of the mystic life, the author comprehends the whole inner life under the terms of the Father, the Son, and the believers. In the parable of the vine, the expressions 'My Father is the husbandman,' 'I am the vine, ye are the branches' (xv. 1, 5), convey the author's whole conception of the inner life. His outlook upon the future is similarly

expressed; 'In that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you' (xiv. 20, cf. xvii. 21-23). Yet the title 'another Advocate,' and phrases already quoted implying the Paraclete's separate being from Christ—that He is sent by Christ, and bears witness of Him—forbid the conclusion that the writer's thought was entirely and uniformly dualitarian. But his prevalent and effective conception of the spiritual world is that of the Father, and His Logos or Son as the one mediator between God and man.

The New Testament begins then with the Jewish doctrine of the Holy Spirit as a heavenly hypostasis of the power and wisdom of God. But gradually, the more distinct and familiar figure and features of Jesus Christ in heaven assumed the Spirit's place and functions, its qualities and glory, in addition to His own, while the Spirit remained a tradition and another name, scarcely distinguished in being and operation from the Lord in heaven, who also dwelt in and with His people on earth.

CHAPTER VI

THE SPIRIT AND THE LOGOS

BEFORE the end of the first century, the centre of gravity of Christianity had passed from Jewish to Gentile ground, and the religion carried with it from its native soil the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the literature of Judaism, the story of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the writings of the apostles, and the traditions of the apostolic churches. In its new environment it encountered the philosophy of Greece, already united with Jewish thought in Alexandria and Asia Minor, and refashioned by the Latin mind in the West, together with the myths and speculations of Oriental religions that were surging over the whole of the Roman empire. Such wealth of material for thought, so varied, incoherent, and incongruous, at first embarrassed and paralysed the mind of the Church. Some sections of it were so attracted by extraneous ideas that they were carried away altogether from the essential truths of the gospel. And even those who asserted their loyalty to the genuine Christian tradition grasped but the barest outline of the faith. They laid firm hold of the central revelation of Hebrew religion that God was One. To this the majority added belief in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Judge and divine Lord, whom they also worshipped. And the first problem of theology for them was to co-ordinate these two articles of faith, the One God of Hebrew monotheism, and the Saviour-God of Christian faith. Apostolic theology (*e.g.* in Col., John, Heb.) and Hellenic or Hellenistic philosophy concurred to lead

them to adopt the doctrine of the Logos as the solution of the problem. This idea therefore embodied the chief motive and the ruling thought in the development of the doctrine of the Godhead. And that involved the comparative neglect of the idea of the Holy Spirit. It survived as a tradition and obtained such attention as the growing authority of the creed, in which it was embedded, forced upon the mind of the Church. But in the conception of God as going forth in the Logos, to enlighten and so to save mankind, there was no logical necessity for a third hypostasis, and it could only be admitted as a fainter copy or shadow of the Logos. And as the author of the Christian life in human experience, the Logos was a principle of reason, knowledge, law and dogma, and it could neither embrace nor tolerate the wider, deeper, and more incalculable experiences worked by the Holy Spirit.

I

In the first group of writers of the sub-apostolic age, the so-called apostolic Fathers, there is sufficient evidence that the tradition of the Spirit was generally accepted, but the idea stands unrelated to any organic theology. Paul had brought together the divine terms of current Christian belief into the threefold formula of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (2 Cor. xiii. 14), and the simple formula of baptism in the name of Jesus (Acts ii. 38, viii. 16, x. 48, xix. 5) had given way to the threefold baptismal formula in New Testament times (Mt. xxviii. 19). In the early part of the second century, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* prescribes baptism in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (vii. 1, 3). A little earlier, Clement of Rome reminds the Corinthians of Paul's warning to them against factions, and himself exhorts them to unity in language similar to the apostle's; 'But have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of

grace that was poured out upon us?'[1] The witness of early creeds and liturgies, in so far as it is available for this period, points to the common use of the threefold formula in the religious language of the Church. Irenaeus, writing about 180, gives the essence of the Apostles' Creed, as he believed it to have been accepted generally, and from the earliest times. 'The Church, although scattered throughout the whole world to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples the faith in one God, the Father Almighty . . . and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God . . . and in the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents.'[2]

On the other hand, in passages where the triple formula might naturally be expected, as in invocations and benedictions, a dual formula, addressing the Father and Son only, is often found.[3] The Spirit is not mentioned in the *Epistle to Diognetus*, nor in the *Epistle of Polycarp*, except in the general sense of the Pauline antithesis between spirit and flesh (v. 3). Most of the references to the Spirit in the apostolic Fathers are mere echoes of Biblical language. It appears most frequently as the principle of inspiration in the Old Testament.[4] Christ spoke in the Old Testament through the Holy Spirit.[5] It guided and inspired the apostles, both in their work and in their writings.[6] Ignatius affirms the miraculous conception of 'our Lord Jesus Christ by Mary, according to a dispensation, of the seed of David, but also of the Holy Spirit.'[7] Both Clement and Ignatius claimed that they were inspired by the Holy Spirit.[8] It was still believed that the Spirit was poured

[1] 1 Clem. xlvi. 6; cf. 1 Cor. xii. 4-6. See also 1 Clem. lviii. 2; Ign., *Magn.*, xiii. 1; *Mart. Pol.*, xiv. 3.

[2] *Adv. Haer.*, I. x. 1. See Swete, *Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, pp. 6-8; *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 151-59; Curtis, *History of the Creeds and Confessions of Faith*, pp. 50-64.

[3] *E.g.* 1 Clem. vi. 4; *Ep. Pol.*, address and xii. 2; Ign. *ad Eph.*, address and xxi. 2.

[4] 1 Clem. viii. 1, xiii. 1, xvi. 2, xlv. 2; Barn., vi. 14, x. 2, 9, xii. 2, xiii. 5; Ign. *ad Magn.*, ix. 2.

[5] 1 Clem. xxii. 1. [6] *Ibid.*, xlii. 3, 4. [7] *Ad Eph.*, xviii. 2.

[8] 1 Clem. lxiii. 2; Ign. *ad Philad.*, vii. 2.

upon all Christians.[1] Ignatius, in a peculiar figure of speech, assigns to the Spirit a part in building up the Church as a temple of God. 'Forasmuch as ye are stones of a temple, which were prepared beforehand for a building of God the Father, being hoisted up to the heights through the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the cross, using for a rope the Holy Spirit; while your faith is the windlass and love is the way that leadeth up to God.'[2] A remarkable passage in the *Didache* throws light upon the orthodox attitude towards ecstatic prophecy, and it may have referred to Montanism. According to the writer's view, men might speak in the Spirit and yet be false prophets. 'Not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord' (xi. 8). 'Whosoever shall say in the Spirit, Give me silver or anything else, ye shall not listen to him' (xi. 12, cf. 9). The test of the true prophet was therefore not the manifestation of the Spirit, but belief and conduct in accordance with the standards of the Church.

These writings show that the traditional belief in the Spirit was accepted as a matter of course, but it counted for little as an effective factor in faith or thought, and no idea can be formed as to how they conceived, either the nature of the Spirit, or its relation to God and to Christ. But one writing of this period contains some peculiar teaching. The *Shepherd* of Hermas is an apocalyptic work, in which the Holy Spirit plays a considerable part, but the writer's ideas about it are somewhat unusual and confused. Like Paul, he identified the Holy Spirit with the higher nature of the Christian. 'The Holy Spirit that abideth in thee shall be pure.'[3] Angry temper drives it out, and sorrow 'beyond all the spirits destroys a man, and crushes out the Holy Spirit.'[4] The writer recognises prophecy as a present and actual gift of the

[1] 1 Clem. ii. 2, xlvi. 6; Barn., i. 3, xix. 7=Did., iv. 10.
[2] *Ad Eph.*, ix. 1.
[3] *Mand*, v. i. 2, 3, ii. 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, x. i. 2, ii., iii. 3.

indwelling divine Spirit, and a false prophet cannot have the power of a divine Spirit in himself, yet the man that hath the Spirit should be tested by his life.[1] But the author seems also to identify 'the Holy, Pre-existent Spirit' with the heavenly, pre-existent Christ. 'For that [Holy] Spirit is the Son of God.'[2] He develops this idea rather obscurely in the parable of the vineyard. A certain master, having entrusted his vineyard to the care of a servant, when he found that the servant had discharged his office well, determined to make him joint-heir with his son. In this purpose, the son of the master agreed with him, that the servant should be made joint-heir with the son. God is the master, and the vineyard is the people which He created and delivered to His Son. 'The Holy, Pre-existent Spirit, which created the whole creation, God made to dwell in flesh that He desired. This flesh therefore in which the Holy Spirit dwelt was subject unto the Spirit. . . . When it had lived honourably in chastity, and had laboured with the Spirit, and had co-operated with it in everything, behaving itself boldly and bravely, He chose it as a partner with the Holy Spirit.'[3] It seems therefore to be rightly inferred (*a*) that Hermas placed God and the Holy Spirit in the relation of Father and Son; (*b*) that it was the Spirit, in his view, which assumed flesh, or rather that God made it to dwell in flesh; (*c*) that Jesus Christ is therefore only a man in whom the Holy Spirit dwelt; and (*d*) that the Trinity of persons in the Godhead is completed by the glorification of the flesh which became joint-heir of God, with the Holy Spirit.[4] The Holy Spirit therefore occupied a central position in his theology, for by entering into union with Jesus Christ it became the saviour of men. But Hermas knew only two divine beings, God and the Spirit-Son. Some passages in the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement* reveal a kindred way of thinking. 'Christ the Lord who

[1] *Mand.*, XI. ii., vii., ix., x. [2] *Sim.*, IX. i. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 2-6. [4] J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*, i. pp. 127-28.

saved us, being first Spirit, then became flesh' (ix. 5). A parallel relation is established between Christ and the Church, and Spirit and flesh, and he who guards the flesh or the Church shall partake of Christ, who is the Spirit (xiv. 3-5). These two writers sought to realise the idea of the Spirit by identifying it with the higher nature of the Saviour.

II

The Greek Apologists preserve the tradition of the Spirit as fully as the apostolic Fathers. Their writings afford abundant evidence that the triple formula was in common use. Justin repels the charge of atheism with the declaration that Christians worshipped God the Father 'and the Son who came forth from Him, and the host of good angels who follow and are made like Him, and the prophetic Spirit.'[1] 'They held Christ in the second place and the prophetic Spirit in the third rank.'[2] They baptized 'in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of Jesus Christ their Saviour, and of the Holy Spirit.'[3] At the Lord's supper, the presiding brother 'gives praise to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.'[4] For all that they received they blessed the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit.[5] Justin even discovers the doctrine of three divine beings, God, the Logos, and the Spirit, in Plato.[6] Similarly Athenagoras proves that the Christians cannot be atheists, since they hold 'that He is God who has framed all things by the Logos, and holds them together by His Spirit.'[7] 'Who then would not be astonished to hear men who speak of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and who declare both their

[1] *Apol.*, I. vi. [2] *Ibid.*, xiii. 3. [3] *Ibid.*, lxi. 3, 13.
[4] *Ibid.*, lxv. 3. [5] *Ibid.*, lxvii. 2. [6] *Ibid.*, lx. 6, 7.
[7] Athen., *Leg.*, vi. 4.

power in union and their distinction in order, called atheists?'[1] 'They know God and His Logos, what is the oneness of the Son with the Father, what the communion of the Father with the Son, what is the Spirit, what is the unity of these three, the Spirit, the Son, the Father, and their distinction in unity.'[2] Theophilus discovered in the first three days of creation 'types of the Trinity, of God and His Logos and His Wisdom,' but also in the fourth, a type of man, 'so that there may be God, the Logos, Wisdom, and man.'[3]

But in all these writers, the operation of the Spirit is almost invariably referred to the past. Once Justin states that 'it is possible to see among us men and women having gifts from the Spirit of God.'[4] Otherwise the Spirit is mainly represented as the author of Old Testament prophecy. It is so described by Justin more than sixty times, and several times by Athenagoras[5] and Theophilus.[6] They also recall Biblical references to the agency of the Spirit in creation,[7] and in the birth of Christ,[8] and to His descent upon Christ at His baptism.[9] Notwithstanding these many references to the Spirit, it was no present experience for the Apologists, and still less was it a living factor in their thought. Unlike the apostolic Fathers, they set themselves to construct a system of Christian philosophy, and we have therefore a right to expect of them a doctrine of the Spirit. Yet not only have they no such doctrine, but their system of thought does not admit it. As in Philo, and in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, the whole field of religious thought and experience is covered by God and the Logos. God is the nameless and incomprehensible ground and origin of all things, and all His action and self-revelation, in creation and providence, prophecy and gospel, are fully mediated by the Logos

[1] Athen., *Leg.*, x. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, xii. 2.
[3] *Ad Autol.*, ii. 15; cf. 18.
[4] *Dial.*, lxxxviii. 1; cf. xxix. 1.
[5] *Leg.*, vii. 1, ix. 1.
[6] *Ad Autol.*, i. 14, ii. 9, 33, iii. 17.
[7] Justin, *Apol.*, I. lix. 3, lxiv. 3, 4; Theoph., *Ad Autol.*, ii. 13.
[8] Justin, *Dial.*, lxxviii. 3, c. 5.
[9] *Ibid.*, lxxxviii. 3, 4, 8.

alone.[1] Like the Greek philosophers, they regarded salvation as virtue issuing out of true knowledge, and the principle of knowledge, reason, and revelation was the Logos, at first immanent in God, then issuing out of Him for the purpose of creation,[2] afterwards permeating the world and sporadically illumining philosophers and prophets and finally becoming incarnate in Jesus Christ.[3] The two divine beings, God and the Logos, completed the metaphysics of Deity, and the conception of religious experience did not include the moral and emotional effects attributed to the Spirit in the Bible. Even Old Testament prophecy, so often derived from the Spirit in these writings, was also attributed to the Logos, who was the essential principle of revelation.[4]

Then over against this speculative system of dualism stood the triple formula which the Apologists had inherited and accepted from church tradition. And although they betray little or no consciousness of the contradiction, it is possible to detect two lines along which their minds were feeling for a solution of it. Justin identified the Spirit with the Logos. 'The Spirit and the power [which came upon the virgin, Lk. i. 35] from God ought to be thought of as none other than the Logos, who also is the first-begotten of God. . . . The prophets were inspired by no other than the divine Logos.'[5] According to Theophilus, the Logos 'being Spirit of God, first principle, and wisdom and power of the Highest, came down upon the prophets, and through them spoke of the creation of the world and of all other things.'[6] The middle term Wisdom, which Philo had used to equate the Spirit with the Logos, is here frequently used for both. God in the beginning begat His Logos and His Wisdom, and where He said, 'Let us make man,' He addressed His Logos and His Wisdom.[7] Justin calls the Logos also wisdom,

[1] Justin, *Apol.*, II. vi.; Athenag., *Leg.*, x.
[2] *Ad Autol.*, ii. 10, 22.
[3] Justin, *Apol.*, I. xlvi.
[4] *Ibid.*, xxxiii, xxxvi, lxiii.
[5] *Ibid.*, xxxiii, xxxiv.
[6] *Ad Autol.*, ii. 10.
[7] *Ibid.*, ii. 18.

power, glory, and Son of God.[1] Both in function and in essence, Logos, Wisdom, and Spirit are all one conception.

But when the triple formula is used, and the Spirit is represented as an independent being, its origin and nature are interpreted after the analogy of the Logos. 'God framed all things by the Logos and holds them together by the Spirit that comes from Him.'[2] 'The Holy Spirit . . . is an effluence of God, flowing from Him and returning back to Him like a beam of the sun.'[3] 'God begat His own Logos . . . sending Him forth, together with His Wisdom, before the universe.'[4] Athenagoras affirms 'the unity and distinction of Father, Son, and Spirit,'[5] and 'their power in unity and their distinction in order.'[6] Justin places the Spirit third in order after Father and Son,[7] and in a rhetorical phrase designed to show how far the Christians were from being atheists, he puts the Spirit in the fourth place, with the angels in the third.[8] Tatian calls the Spirit the minister of the God who suffered, and the ambassador of God in man.[9]

No attempt was made to harmonise these two views of the Spirit, as identical with the Logos, and as a third being similar but subordinate to the Logos. In either case, what they said of the being and nature of the Spirit, of its relation to God, and of its function in the world, was but a faint repetition of what they said with deeper conviction and fuller comprehension about the Logos. Their doctrine of the Logos enabled them to interpret their Christian faith in consonance with the cultured thought of their time, but for the retention of the Holy Spirit in their system, they had no other motive than that of conformity to the traditional language of the Church.

1 *Dial.*, lxi.; cf. *Ad Autol.*, i. 3.
2 *Ibid.*, x. 3; cf. xxiv. 2.
3 *Leg.*, xii.
4 *Apol.*, I. xiii. 3.
5 *Oratio adv. Graecos*, xiii., xv.
6 Athenag., *Leg.*, vi. 4.
7 Theoph., *Ad Autol.*, ii. 10.
8 *Ibid.*, x.
9 *Ibid.*, vi. 2.

III

More radical attempts to harmonise the creed with heathen speculations, both Greek and Oriental, were made by the Gnostics. God as absolute, and existence as evil, were the two antithetical poles of all their theories, and they tried to fill up the intervening gap with systems of intermediaries, with emanations, æons, primal germs, or other middle terms between God and the world, the One and the many, the Good and the evil. In such a 'pluralistic universe' it was easy to include the Christian Trinity, and the Holy Spirit is placed in it more naturally than in the Logos theology. Its functions are not only those of revelation and illumination, but also of cleansing and purifying, and of bringing the soul to God. Yet it is only one among the many, even though one of the chief emanations or intermediaries, wherein the attributes of the Absolute, separated from His essence, were personified outside of Him. In some systems it was identified with the heavenly æon Christ, that descended upon the man Jesus, and dwelt with Him for a time on earth. In others it was the æon *sophia* or wisdom. In others it formed with the heavenly æon Christ the most important pair or syzygy in the divine pleroma, sent forth to fortify and strengthen the pleroma, and to complete the number of the æons. In several systems it was set forth as the female principle or sister-power, corresponding to Christ, the male principle. In the Gnostic teaching generally, the Spirit was only one element in a pluralistic metaphysics and a polytheistic and pagan theology which sought to supplant Hebrew monotheism, and the revelation of God through the historical person of Jesus Christ. This teaching had the effect of forcing the Church to seek a reconciliation of Christian monotheism with the threefold formula of the creed, as well as with the multiplicity and contradictions of human experience. It was, like modern

pluralism, a protest against a too facile and absolute monism. And although it was repudiated by the Church, its influence survived in Christian theology. Its immediate effect was the rise of two counter-movements within the Church, a Trinitarian adaptation of the Logos theology, and the Unitarianism of the Monarchians.[1]

IV

Irenaeus, 'a Biblical theologian, the first of his kind, with the Christ and not the Logos as the centre of his system,'[2] was the protagonist of Catholic Christianity against Gnosticism. He based his theology on the Rule of Faith, which by his time clearly required belief in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[3] And he developed the doctrine of the Spirit with a more intimate knowledge and understanding of apostolic teaching than had hitherto obtained. His chief extant work, *Against Heresies*, is a detailed refutation of the Gnostic speculations, to whose pluralism he opposes Biblical monotheism; and the divine attributes, which the Gnostics had hypostatised as emanations outside of God, he placed within the eternal, living, concrete unity of God, who is Himself eternally Logos,[4] Spirit,[5] Wisdom,[6] and all divine attributes and functions.[7] He conceived the Son and Spirit as standing in the closest possible relation to God. They were co-eternal with Him, and as agents of creation,[7] they were His hands with which He made all things, and He had therefore no need of angels or æons.[8] In connection with the work of creation, the Son and Spirit are also called respectively the offspring (*progenies*) and likeness (*figuratio*) of God, who minister to Him in all things, and to whom the angels are servants

[1] Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 50-66.
[2] A. M. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 67.
[3] *Adv. Haer.*, I. x. 1, IV. xxxiii. 7, 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, II. xiii. 8. [5] *Ibid.*, II., xxx. 8. [6] *Ibid.*, IV. xxxviii. 3.
[7] *Ibid.*, II. xxviii. 4, 5; cf. xxx. 9, III. xxiv. 2.
[8] *Ibid.*, IV. xx. 1, 3; Praef., 4; v. i. 3, vi. 1, xxviii. 4, III. xxi. 10.

and subjects.[1] These metaphors of hands and likeness have led some writers to infer that Irenaeus regarded the Spirit as an impersonal attribute or power of God,[2] and his purpose of refuting the Gnostics led him to lay the chief emphasis on the unity of God, but as the same metaphors are also applied to the Son, and there can be no doubt that Irenaeus thought of the Son as an eternally distinct hypostasis, there is no reason for supposing that he thought differently of the relation of the Spirit to God. The determinative relation for him was that of Father and Son, and he includes the Spirit in a similar relation as a corollary. But he never attempted to define the internal relations of the persons in the Godhead. He disliked the idea of prolation held by the Apologists no less than the emanations of the Gnostics. And he deprecated all curious speculation about the internal being of God, and the manner of the going forth and manifestation of the Son, as mysteries that lay beyond human ken.[3]

He made a clear distinction, however, between the Son and the Spirit. Although in one place he seems to call the Son also Spirit,[4] he generally maintains the distinction so clearly that he subordinates the Spirit to the Son. 'The Father anointed Him: He who is anointed is the Son, and the Spirit is the unction.'[5] In the interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan, Christ is the Samaritan, and the Spirit is the host who does His bidding. The Spirit is sent by and through the Son. 'The Lord receiving this gift from the Father, gives it to those who are partakers in Himself, sending the Holy Spirit into all the earth.'[6]

Irenaeus marks a great advance upon the teaching of his immediate predecessors in his definition of the Spirit's function in the world and in Christian life. He sets it

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, IV. vii. 4.
[2] Kahnis, *Die Lehre vom Heiligen Geiste*, i. 257-8.
[3] *Adv. Haer.*, II. xxviii. 6. [4] *Ibid.*, III. x. 2. [5] *Ibid.*, III. xviii. 3.
[6] *Ibid.*, III. xvii. 2, 3; V. i. 1, xviii. 2.

forth, with an abundance of Scriptural quotations, as the prophetic Spirit in the Old Testament, and as the inspiration of the New Testament. It was the agent of Christ's miraculous birth, and it descended upon Him at His baptism. It was poured upon the disciples at Pentecost, and it directed the missionary labours of the apostles. It bestowed all gifts upon the Church, and it perfected the disciples. Believers had salvation written on their hearts by the Holy Spirit, and it rested upon the righteous. It was the bread of immortality and the food of life eternal. As it bestowed upon Adam at first the robe of sanctity, it now fulfils the divine likeness in man.[1] As it was an original agent of creation, it is still the power of life and the order in nature.[2] It is the gift of God, entrusted to the Church, a power of renewal, the earnest of incorruption, the confirmation of faith, and the ladder of ascent to God.[3] Those who are being saved ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father.[4] Yet the sphere of this Spirit's operations is not distinguished from that of the Son, for the Logos too was the agent of creation, and He appeared under the Old Testament and spoke through the prophets.[5] Moreover, He is the agent and sum (*anakephalaiōsis*) of redemption and salvation.[6] But although Irenaeus has not created a distinct or necessary province for the Holy Spirit, either in metaphysics or in experience, he has related the idea, as a parallel to the Logos-Son, to the whole range of Christian life.

V

Not only Gnostic pluralism, but the twofold or threefold Deity of the Logos theology, puzzled the faith of the ordinary Christian, who desired communion with the one supreme God, and offended the monist theologian, who saw in the

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, V. viii.-xii. [2] *Ibid.*, IV. xxxvi. 7. [3] *Ibid.*, III. xxiv. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, V. xxxvi. 2. [5] *Ibid.*, II. xxviii. 2; III. xi. 8; IV. xxxvi. 8.
[6] *Ibid.*, I. x. 1; III. xvi. 6; V. i. 1; xviii. 1.

introduction of a plurality of divine beings a reversion to the intellectual crudity and chaos of heathen polytheism. Therefore a vigorous and thoroughgoing Unitarian movement set in about the year 170, and continued in opposition to Logos-Trinitarianism, in the West till about 250, and in the East till about 300. Its champions claimed that they alone maintained the 'monarchy,' by which they meant the numerical unity of God; and they were therefore called Monarchians, although the Logos theologians protested that they guarded the monarchy as well or better, while admitting a plurality within the unity, but that remained yet to be demonstrated.

(*a*) Epiphanius mentions an obscure sect in Asia Minor, which he calls the *Alogoi*, because they opposed the Johannine doctrine of the Logos;[1] and Irenaeus refers to a similar sect, without giving it any name, which rejected the Fourth Gospel, because it contained the promise of the Paraclete.[2] They joined the Catholics in opposition to Montanism and prophecy generally, but they also rejected, as a Gnostic innovation, the Logos doctrine which was then becoming prevalent in the Church. Hence these pure rationalists were paradoxically called the 'Irrationals' (*Alogoi*). They denied the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel and of the book of Revelation, the former because it contained the doctrine of the Logos and the promise of the Paraclete, and the latter on account of its prophecies and revelations. They ascribed both to Cerinthus.

(*b*) The Adoptianist or Dynamistic Monarchians were governed by a twofold interest, the unity of God and the humanity of Christ, both of which the Logos theology tended to eclipse. The two Theodoti held Jesus Christ to be a man, born of a virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which also descended upon Him at His baptism, and qualified Him for His vocation. Harnack maintains that their teaching represented the old Roman view, also

[1] *Haer.*, li. [2] *Adv. Haer.*, III. xi. 9.

found in Hermas, and sums it up in three points: (i.) besides the Father, the only divine Being was the Holy Spirit, who was identical with the Son; (ii.) the Holy Spirit had appeared to Abraham in the form of Melchizedek (a view then widely prevalent in the Church); (iii.) Jesus was a mere man anointed with the power of the Holy Spirit, but not an incarnation of the Spirit-Son.[1] Paul of Samosata was a more thoroughgoing Unitarian, who so held the personal unity of God, that the Son and the Spirit were only impersonal attributes of God. The Synod of Antioch in 268 condemned him and his theology, but the interest both of Paul and of the synod was so faint in the Holy Spirit that it is not mentioned in the synod's epistle.[2]

(*c*) Modalistic or Patripassian Monarchianism affirmed the personal unity of God in the interest rather of the deity than of the humanity of Christ. They opposed the Logos theology on the two grounds, that like Gnosticism it involved a plurality of divine beings, and that it made the Logos incarnate in Christ rather an intermediary between God and man than a union of God with man. In the interest of religion as well as of monotheism, they taught that God was one personal Being, who appeared under three modes or aspects, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Their controversy centred around the idea of the Logos and of the person of Christ, and the idea that the Holy Spirit was a third aspect of Deity was only a deduction, made necessary by the awakened interest in the Spirit which Montanism had produced, and in order to bring the Modalist scheme of Deity into conformity with the Rule of Faith. As far as it is known, Noetus did not refer to the Spirit at all. Of Praxeas, Tertullian writes that he 'expelled prophecy and introduced heresy, put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father.'[3] In the reference to prophecy and the Paraclete, he had in view

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, E. tr., iii. p. 28.
[2] Harnack, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 40.
[3] *Adv. Prax.*, i.

more especially the opposition of Praxeas to Montanism. But Praxeas also taught that the Spirit was the power of the Almighty, and that God the Father and Christ was one Being who became Son and Jesus when He assumed flesh.

Sabellius endeavoured to give a more consistent form to Modalism; he established clearer distinctions between the modes, and recognised more definitely the Holy Spirit as a third *prosōpon* or mode of Deity. 'Sabellius, however, taught—according to Epiphanius and Athanasius—that God was not at the same time the Father and the Son; but that He had rather put forth His activity in three successive 'energies'; first, in the prosopon (=form of manifestation, figure; not=hypostasis) of the Father as Creator and Lawgiver; secondly, in the prosopon of the Son as Redeemer, beginning with the incarnation and ending with the ascension; finally, and up till the present hour, in the prosopon of the Spirit as giver and sustainer of life.'[1] But it is significant that he invented, for the purpose of describing this one Being, and for emphasising the unity, the term *huiopatōr*—Son-Father, which shows that the Spirit was not essential to his conception of Deity.

This phase of thought enjoyed great popularity in the first half of the third century. Its apparent simplicity and its undoubted monotheism appealed to the ordinary mind, and it was favoured by some of the Roman bishops, by Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus. What was for contemporary thought its most vulnerable point, was in reality, from the standpoint of salvation, its chief merit, namely, that 'it crucified the Father,' that it tried to bring the supreme God into the actual work of salvation.[2] But this it did under protest, for its bare Unitarianism really allowed of no activity or manifestation of God. Neither the Modalists nor their opponents could accept the Patripassian interpretation of their doctrine, for they

[1] Harnack, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 85. [2] Fairbairn, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

held in common the Greek conception of God as pure being, impassible and unchangeable, who therefore could not enter into any real relation with the world, much less could he have any part in making sacrifice for the sin of the world, or in cleansing human hearts from its corruption. Modalistic Unitarianism presented to men a 'lonely God' who had no life within Himself, who sent forth no virtue out of Himself, and who appeared under different modes or aspects, merely because men saw Him from different standpoints in the world's history.

VI

In the West, the first group of great Latin theologians, Hippolytus and Tertullian, Novatian and Cyprian, already herald the characteristic western conception of the Trinity. They lay down with unprecedented firmness the plurality and distinction of persons in the Godhead. Their favourite term for the Trinity was *oikonomia*, a term of social and political associations, which served to introduce into theology the western tendency to conceive the Godhead in political rather than in metaphysical terms. This mode of thought greatly facilitated the conception of the Godhead as a divine society. It was natural for the Latin mind to think of a triumvirate that was one in authority, a monarchy, yet distinct in person, function, and sphere of operation. The economic Trinity, like the Modalist, was a Trinity of revelation. It had its significance in God's successive acts of creation, redemption, and sanctification in human history. It was Modalism modified by the assimilation of the Logos theology with the Trinity of revelation, through the medium of the political conception of the Godhead. It thus carried the stages of divine administration into the inner being of God as essential and personal distinctions.

It thereby became involved in the difficulties of the Logos theology. It adopted from the Apologists the

doctrine of prolations. It conceived God as originally One, with the Logos and Wisdom immanent within Him, and the Logos became a separate person for the purpose of creation.[1] The Logos is emphatically subordinated to the Father, and the Spirit to the Logos. But the Spirit is still only the shadow of the Logos, and it receives comparatively slight treatment, although these writers gave it greater importance and distinctness than any of their predecessors.

Yet it is doubtful whether Hippolytus attributed personality to the Spirit. He often repeats that God is in some sense three. 'As regards the power, God is One, but as regards the economy, the manifestation is threefold.'[2] He avoids calling the Spirit either God or a person. 'I will not indeed say two gods, but one, yet two persons and a third economy, the grace of the Holy Spirit.'[3] On the other hand he writes, 'we worship the Holy Spirit,'[4] and he assigns definite and separate functions to each person. 'God fashioned all things through Logos and Wisdom, creating them by Logos and ordering them by Wisdom.'[5] 'The Father commands, the Son obeys, and the Holy Spirit gives understanding.' 'Through the Trinity is the Father glorified, for the Father willed, the Son executed, and the Spirit made manifest.'[6]

It is natural to look for a great development of the idea of the Spirit in the writings of Tertullian, on account of his Montanism, and they do reveal a renewed interest in its work, a fuller definition of its sphere of operations, as well as a clearer recognition of its independent being; but his doctrine of its nature, and of its relation to God and the Logos, is still fundamentally that of the Greek Apologists. As far as the evidence shows, Montanism attempted no revision or development of the doctrine of the Spirit; it contributed to the phenomenology rather than to the theology of the Spirit. And that was Tertullian's own

[1] Hippol., *C. Noet.*, x. [2] *Ibid.*, viii. [3] *Ibid.*, xiv.
[4] *Ibid.*, xii. [5] *Ibid.*, x. [6] *Ibid.*, xiv.

view of his position. In controverting the Monarchian theory, he took his stand on the ancient Rule of Faith. 'We indeed always, and now all the more, since we are better instructed by the Paraclete, the leader into all truth (*i.e.* since he became a Montanist), believe in one God, but under the dispensation or *oikonomia*, that the one God had His Son, the Logos (*sermo*) who proceeded from Him, through whom all things were made, and without Him nothing was made . . . who according to His promise, sent from heaven from the Father, the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This rule of faith has come down to us from the beginning of the gospel.'[1] Tertullian created a large part of the language of Latin theology. He was the first to define the Godhead by the formula, *una substantia, tres personae*, a formula that henceforth remained the standard of orthodoxy, although Post-Nicene theologians understood it in a sense radically different from that of Tertullian. By the phrase 'one substance' he affirmed the unity of God, and he further defined substance as spirit in its most general sense, for God is spirit and the Logos is spirit of spirit.[2] His use of the term spirit in this general sense, of the essence of the whole Godhead, sometimes leads to ambiguity, and might suggest that he identified the Holy Spirit with the Son or with the Father.[3] But other passages make it abundantly clear that he distinguished all three persons from one another, and that the personal being of Deity is to be found rather in the three than in the One. 'And these three are one substance, not one person' (*qui tres unum sunt, non unus*); as it is said, 'I and My Father are one' in respect of substance, not of singleness of number.[4] He argues further, in terms of political organism, that so far from the plurality being antagonistic to the unity,

[1] Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, ii.; cf. *De Praescript*, xiii.
[2] *Apol.*, xxi.; *Adv. Prax.*, xiv.
[3] *Adv. Prax.*, xxvi.
[4] *Ibid.*, xxv.; cf. ix., xi., xiii., etc.

the one notion involves the other. The 'economy' or monarchy has no other meaning than one and single rule, but every authority must be administered by its associates and officials. 'If the divine Monarchy is administered by so many legions and hosts of angels . . . and has not therefore ceased to be one or a monarchy . . . why should it seem that God suffers division or separation (*dispersio*) in the Son and Holy Spirit.'[1] But in order to preserve the unity the more securely, he derives the Son from the Father and the Spirit from both, and subordinates the Son to the Father, and the Spirit to both. 'Before all things, God was alone, Himself His own world, space and universe.'[2] He always had His own reason and wisdom immanent in Himself, and when He determined to create the universe, 'He first put forth the Word (*sermo*),' which was His immanent reason and wisdom,[3] and Tertullian does not shrink from calling both Word and Spirit by the Valentinian term prolations (*probolai*). 'God put forth (*protulit*) His Word, even as the Paraclete teaches, as the root puts forth the tree, the fountain the river, the sun the ray. . . . And the Spirit is a third from God and the Son, as the fruit from the tree is a third from the root, as the stream from the river is a third from the fountain, as the apex from the ray is a third from the sun.'[4] The unity therefore involves neither co-equality nor co-eternity. Not only had the distinct personality of the Son and Spirit a beginning in time, but it would also have an end, for the Son will restore the monarchy to the Father.[5] Yet both Son and Spirit are called God,[6] as being a certain portion of the whole substance of Deity.[7] Thus the doctrine stands in unstable equilibrium between Gnosticism and Modalism, the pluralism and subordinationism tending towards the former, and the temporary character of the economy towards the latter.

[1] *Adv. Prax.*, iii. [2] *Ibid.*, v. [3] *Ibid.*, vi. [4] *Ibid.*, viii. *Ibid.*, iv.; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24-28. [6] *Adv. Prax.*, xiii. [7] *Ibid.*, xxvi.; cf. ix.

In Tertullian's doctrine of the Godhead, the Spirit receives no independent treatment. It is a prolation after the analogy of the Son. The burden of the argument turns upon the person of the Son, who is mentioned much oftener than the Spirit. Harnack therefore asserts that the idea is still not developed in its own interest, but only according to the scheme of the doctrine of the Logos.[1] But this judgment should be somewhat modified by the fact that Tertullian displays a real interest in the work of the Spirit, and in its sphere of operation. It was present at creation,[2] and as the creative Spirit hovered above the waters in the beginning, so in baptism, after the invocation of God, the Holy Spirit descends upon the water, and by sanctifying it, endows it with the power of sanctification.[3] The Church seals her faith with the water of baptism, and clothes it with the Holy Spirit.[4] 'The flesh is overshadowed by the laying on of the hand, that the soul also may be enlightened by the Spirit.'[5] As the Son was destined to put on human nature, so was the Spirit to sanctify man.[6] It is the preacher of the one Monarchy, the interpreter of the *oikonomia*, to every one who receives the words of the new prophecy (*i.e.* Montanism), and it is the leader into all truth.[7] It seems obvious that Tertullian had a real interest in the Spirit as the power of the Christian life. And yet, it must be added that most of these functions are also attributed to the Son. 'Tertullian shared with the church of his time the obscurity in distinguishing the functions of the Logos and the Holy Spirit.'[8]

Novatian and Cyprian followed the main lines of Tertullian's teaching on this subject, and did much to popularise the Logos theology in the West, but they added nothing distinctive to its interpretation. Novatian is less clear than his master on the distinction of persons, but he

1 *Op. cit.*, E. tr., ii. p. 261, note 4.
2 *Adv. Prax.*, xii.
3 *De Bapt.*, iii., iv.
4 *De Praescr.*, xxxvi.
5 *De Res. Carn.*, viii.
6 *Adv. Prax.*, xii.
7 *Ibid.*, xxx.
8 Kahnis, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

subordinates the Spirit to the Son more emphatically, and he nowhere calls the Spirit God.[1] Cyprian's chief interest was to attach the Spirit, as the regenerating power in baptism, and as the cleansing power bestowed with the imposition of hands, to his conception of the Catholic church. Among heretics there can be neither baptism, nor regeneration, nor forgiveness of sin, nor sanctification, because the Holy Spirit is not among them; for those who are in error about the Father or the Son cannot be at peace with the Spirit and cannot receive it, because all three are one.[2]

VII

It was natural that the Logos theology should thrive most vigorously in its native soil of Alexandria. Whether Philo's teaching directly influenced the Apologists or the Latin Fathers is uncertain, but when 'the Christian Platonism of Alexandria' emerges into the light of history in the writings of Clement, towards the end of the second century, and afterwards in the writings of Origen, it bears abundant evidence of the influence of Philo. Clement and Origen wrote, not to defend Christianity before heathen emperors, nor primarily to refute heretics, as earlier Christian writers had done, but to set forth systematically the Christian truth—and it was the whole truth—in the categories of philosophic culture. Clement developed the doctrine of the Logos into a complete theory of creation and history, of the education and perfection of the human race, which reached their climax in the perfect knowledge of the true gnostic. Origen enriched and expanded the system, by his fuller knowledge and closer adherence to the concrete facts of revelation in the Scriptures and in the historical person of Jesus Christ. But he, like Clement, conceived salvation in the spirit of Greek philosophy, as virtue realised through knowledge. And the

[1] *De Trinit.*, xxix., xxx., xxxi. [2] *Epp.*, lxxiii. 12, lxxiv. 5, 7.

whole framework of their thought was that of Platonism, as it had been adapted by Philo into a philosophy of religion. God is pure being, incomprehensible and indefinable (*inaestimabilis*). As spirit, He is all that is opposed to body, an intellectual subsistence and pure mind (*tota mens*). We must believe that God far transcends anything we can perceive or understand concerning Him.[1] He therefore needs a mediating principle of creation and revelation, and this He has in His Logos or Wisdom, which was eternally, both inherent in Him in the unity of nature and substance, and generated from Him as the principle of His self-manifestation, 'as the will proceeds from the understanding.' This doctrine of eternal generation, which was implied by Clement, was first explicitly set forth by Origen, and it represented a great advance in the interpretation of the Godhead, as containing eternally and essentially both the unity in essence and the hypostatic distinction of God and His Logos, of Father and Son. The emanations of the Gnostics, the created Logos of the Apologists, the dynamic or modal Trinity of the Monarchians, the economic Trinity of Tertullian, were all temporal and temporary, but Origen based the historical processes of revelation and salvation upon principles inherent in the innermost nature of Deity. Still, the revelation hypostasis of the Logos-Son so fully satisfied the demands both of the intellectual ideal and of moral aspiration for the Alexandrians, that the position and function of the Spirit remains in great uncertainty.

In the extant writings of Clement we find very little doctrine of the Spirit, although he refers to it often. It is the agent of Old Testament inspiration, the author of that which is spiritual,[2] the sanctifier of soul and body,[3] the revealer of truth,[4] and the teacher of the spiritual man or the gnostic.[5] All these functions are comprised in the one act of illumination, which is also the special

[1] Origen, *De Princip.*, I. i. 3, 5, 6.
[2] *Strom.*, i. 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 26.
[4] *Paed.*, i. 6.
[5] *Strom.*, v. 4.

function of the Logos.[1] Clement also refers often to the Trinity, and offers thanks and praise to 'the only Father and Son . . . with the Holy Spirit all in one.'[2] He discovers the Trinity in Plato,[3] and he distinguishes the Holy Spirit from the Greek idea of immanent mind proceeding from God. 'It is not as a portion of God that the Spirit is in each of us.'[4] But again, he uses the term spirit for the nature of God and for the divine in Christ. And in effect, if not in terms, he, like Philo, equates Logos, Wisdom, and Spirit. 'The Son is wisdom, knowledge, and truth, and all else that has affinity thereto . . . and all the powers of the Spirit, becoming collectively one thing, terminate in the same point, that is in the Son.'[5] Clement had intended to write more fully on the nature and dispensation of the Spirit, in subsequent books on Prophecy and on the Soul,[6] but whether these books were written cannot now be ascertained.[7]

Although Origen worked with the categories of Greek philosophy, he planned his theology on the basis of the creed. He enumerates three divisions of the teaching of the apostles: 'that there is one God who created and arranged all things . . . that Jesus Christ was born of the Father before all creation . . . and the apostles related that the Holy Spirit was associated in honour and dignity with the Father and Son.'[8] The Spirit of God in the Old Testament and the Holy Spirit in the New Testament was one and the same being.[9] The two Seraphim of Isaiah (vi. 3) and the two living beings of Habakkuk (LXX. iii. 2) were Christ and the Holy Spirit.[10]

On the work of the Spirit, the teaching of Origen is full and clear. He defined its sphere of operation more precisely than any previous writer. The Scriptures of the

[1] *Strom.*, v. 1; *Paed.*, i. 2.
[2] *Paed.*, iii. 12; cf. i. 6.
[3] *Strom.*, v. 14.
[4] *Ibid.*, v. 13.
[5] *Strom.*, iv. 25; cf. *Paed.*, i. 6. See *Mansfield Essays*, pp. 303-4.
[6] *Strom.*, i. 24, iv. 13, v. 13.
[7] Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 126-7.
[8] *De Prin.*, Praef., iv.
[9] *Ibid.*, II. viii. 1.
[10] *Ibid.*, I. iii. 4.

Old and New Testament were written through its inspiration.[1] All knowledge is obtained from the Father, by the revelation of the Son, in the Holy Spirit.[2] The Spirit works sanctification in the saints,[3] and it is called the Paraclete because of its work of consolation, for it creates comfort and joy in the heart by revealing spiritual knowledge. 'For since man understands the reason of all that happens, why and how they happen, by the revelation of the Spirit, his soul cannot be disturbed or made sorrowful by anything, nor is he terrified by anything, because he abides in the Word and wisdom of God, and calls Jesus Lord through the Holy Spirit.'[4] As in Clement, so in Origen, the fundamental work of the Spirit, that which produces all its other effects, is enlightenment, the revelation of God through Jesus Christ to the gnostic. Origen is unique in teaching repeatedly that the operation of the Spirit is limited to the saints only. 'In those alone do I think the Holy Spirit to work who are already turning themselves to better things, who are set on the ways of Christ, that is, who live in good deeds and abide in God.' The Father and Son work in creation and in all rational nature upon sinners and saints, but the Spirit only upon those whose worth and merit render them capable of it.[5] The Spirit is therefore not a gift of free grace to all sinners, but a special endowment of those who have already attained to some degree of virtue. It is the material of the gifts that God through Christ bestows upon the saints.[6] The Scriptures therefore, the product of the Spirit's inspiration, will only render up their deeper meaning to the spiritual or the gnostic, for here too the Spirit will only speak to those who are worthy to receive its message. And the Spirit itself can only be known to those who are familiar with the law and prophets, or who profess a belief in Christ.[7] Yet in one place at least, Origen seems to qualify this view and to

[1] *De Prin.*, Praef., viii; IV. i. 8, 9. [2] *Ibid.*, I. iii. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, I. iii. 5-8.
[4] *Ibid.*, II. vii. 4. [5] *Ibid.*, I. iii. 5, 7. [6] *In Joann.*, i. 3.
[7] *De Prin.*, I. iii. 1.

say 'that every rational creature, without any distinction, receives a share of the Spirit, as of the wisdom of God and of the Word of God.[1]

A similar ambiguity appears in Origen's doctrine of the nature of the Spirit. He showed no leanings to Modalism, and he held the independent personality of the Spirit without ambiguity. It was an essence and not an energy of God, and it had its own individual subsistence.[2] But he is less clear as to the relation of this essence to the Father, and he gives ambiguous answers to the question whether the Spirit was created or uncreated. But although Origen's statements on these questions are inconclusive, they show that he had realised the problem, both of plurality in the divine unity, and of the relation of the Spirit to the Godhead, as no one before him had done. While laying down the traditional doctrine that 'the Holy Spirit was associated in honour and dignity with the Father and Son,' he raises a question which tradition had not decided, 'whether He was to be regarded as generate or ingenerate, or whether or not He was Himself also a Son of God.'[3] In his commentary on John i. 3, Origen raises the question whether even the Holy Spirit was not made by the Logos, since all things were made by Him: and he sets forth three possible views, that the Spirit was made by the Son, or that it was ingenerate, or that there is no proper being of the Holy Spirit besides that of the Father and Son. Origen's choice lay between including the Spirit among the things created by the Son, and admitting that there were two Ingenerates, two co-equal Deities, and denying the distinct personality of the Spirit, between incipient Semi-Arianism, Ditheism and Sabellianism, and with evident reluctance he accepts the first view. 'We, being convinced that there are three hypostases, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and believing that

[1] *De Prin.*, II. vii. 2.
[2] *In Joann.*, iii. 8. See Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4; but cf. Noesgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-2.
[3] *De Prin.*, Praef., iv.

none other than the Father is ingenerate, admit as more pious and as true, that the Holy Spirit is included among all things made by the Logos, but that it is more honourable than all things made by the Father through Christ. That is the reason, perhaps, why it is not called the very Son of God, because the Only-begotten alone is Son by nature and origin, and the Holy Spirit has need of His ministration, not only that it may be, but that it may be wise, rational, righteous, and all else that pertains to its idea, by participation in the mind of Christ.' Certain texts which seem to imply the Spirit's superiority to the Son (such as Is. xlviii. 16) are understood of the Son in His incarnate state. The Gnostic reference to the Spirit as the mother of Christ, in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Origen would understand in a sense similar to the saying of Christ, that those who do the Father's will are His mother.[1]

In fidelity to the language of Scripture, and to the traditional distinction of three persons, Origen so far subordinates the Spirit to Father and Son as to make it of distinct essence, and to include it among created things, though it is far superior to all other created things.

But elsewhere he uses different language, which implies the co-equality and co-eternity of the Spirit with the Father and Son. Referring to the act of creation, he writes that he has found 'no statement in Holy Scripture in which it was said that the Holy Spirit was made or created,' and he places it before all creation as the Spirit of God that was borne upon the waters.[2] 'The Spirit is the same in the law, the same in the gospel, always the same together with the Father and Son, and it always is and was and will be even as the Father and Son.'[3] Although the Father is first in the Trinity, no temporal succession can properly be predicated of the Trinity,' for all statements regarding Father, Son, and Holy Spirit must be understood as transcending all time, all ages, and all eternity.'[4] The

[1] *In Joann.*, i. 3. [2] *De Prin.*, I. iii. 3. [3] *In Rom.*, VI. 7.
[4] *De Prin.*, I. iii. 4; IV. i. 28.

priority is logical and functional, and not temporal or essential.[1] And it does not involve any essential inequality. In developing his doctrine that the Spirit works in the saints only, Origen finds it necessary to explain that he does not thereby set the Holy Spirit above Father and Son, for 'nothing in the Trinity can be called greater or less.'[2] The Spirit proceeds from the Father, but it has ever enjoyed equality of knowledge with the Father and Son.[3] In nature, Father, Son, and Spirit are alike uncreated, incorruptible, and eternal.[4] Good doctrine 'will assign to each his own attributes (*proprietates*), to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but it will confess nothing of diversity in substance or nature.'[5] 'There is this distinction of three persons, of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit . . . but the substance and nature of the Trinity is one.'[6]

It is clear that Origen strove to maintain the unity of the Godhead, and at the same time to give concreteness and reality to the ideas of revelation and mediation in the terms of the creed. He affirmed the unity of the divine nature or substance, and he introduced into it the essential distinction of Father and Son which he crystallised in the formula of eternal generation. But when he tries to fit the Holy Spirit into the same scheme, his thought and language become more confused and fluctuating. He still maintains the unity of the divine nature, and a co-equality and co-eternity of the Spirit with the Father and Son. But he could not bring the Spirit under the category of eternal generation, for then it would become an otiose term expressing nothing different from the Son, And he discovered no similarly significant term with which he could engraft the Spirit as a third hypostasis in the Godhead. Although he rejected the term prolation (*probolē*) as being too materialistic to denote relations within the Godhead, he yet uses the corresponding verb

[1] *De Prin.*, II. ii. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, I. iii. 7. [3] *Ibid.*, III. v. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV. i. 35, 36. [5] *In Rom.*, VIII. 5.
[6] *Hom. in. Num.*, XII. 1.

(*profert*)[1] to express the outgoing of the Spirit from the Father, as well as the terms procession and creation (*genesis*). In so far as Origen's language corresponds to the doctrine of the procession of the Spirit, it implies the later Western view of a dual procession from Father and Son, for the Father created the Spirit through the Son. These terms, however, were applied, not to the nature, but to the distinct personality of the Spirit, and even in that connection they were temporal terms, improperly though inevitably used, to denote eternal relations. But while Origen's conception of the Son's relation to the Father is definite, constant, and significant, the terms by which he relates the Spirit to the Godhead convey no fixed or articulate meaning.

Origen's metaphysics of Deity was complete in the doctrine of eternal generation, and that doctrine, like the Logos doctrine of which it was a development, neither required nor properly admitted a third person; and had there been no Trinitarian creed demanding recognition, Origen's intellectual and religious necessities would not have led him to construct a Trinitarian theory of Deity. His working conception of God was that of an eternal interaction between Father and Son, and both revelation and purification, the whole process of salvation, could be mediated by the Logos-Son. In this as in other respects, Origen's teaching was fairly representative of Ante-Nicene theology.

For more than fifty years after Origen, Christian theology moved unsteadily between the antinomies of his system, at one time leaning to Monarchian Unitarianism, and at another to subordinationist Ditheism or Tritheism. The state of the problem in the time between Origen and Athanasius is well illustrated by the controversy between Dionysius of Alexandria and Dionysius of Rome. The Alexandrian bishop was suspected of having carried his opposition to Sabellianism so far as to teach that both Son and Spirit

[1] *De Prin.*, II. ii. 1.

were creatures, and the Roman bishop rebuked the Alexandrians for dividing 'the unity into three powers, separated persons, and even three Godheads'; but he had no light to shed on the unsolved problem beyond the bare assertion that 'the divine Word must needs be united to the God of all, and the Holy Spirit must needs love to dwell in God; further, it is absolutely necessary that the Divine Trinity be summed up and gathered into one as its head, I mean into the God of all, the Almighty.' Dionysius of Alexandria, in his reply, gave an illuminating account of the unity of Father and Son as being involved in the very terms and relations of Father and Son; but his attempt to construe the Spirit's relations in the same way has no obvious meaning, for the terms at his service here conveyed no idea of any necessary relation.[1] 'The doctrine of Origen, that the Holy Spirit is an individual hypostasis, and that it is a created being included within the Godhead itself, found only very partial acceptance for more than a century.'[2]

The chief results of Ante-Nicene theology, in respect of the idea of the Holy Spirit were, that Gnostic pluralism was expelled from the Church in the interest of Christian monotheism; that Monarchian Unitarianism was also resisted and gradually eliminated by the growing authority of the Trinitarian creed, and still more by the vigorous development of the Logos theology; that the Apologists' doctrine of prolations was found to be inadequate, and the doctrine of the Logos was further developed so that the revelation hypostasis was made of the eternal essence of Deity. But most significant were the two complementary facts that the living witness of the Spirit in Christian experience was suppressed until it died out, and that the Logos doctrine, which became the material principle of theology, was essentially a rationalist as distinguished from a spiritual principle, and it involved a dualitarian rather than a Trinitarian theory of the Godhead.

[1] Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-40. [2] Harnack, *op. cit.*, E. tr., iv. p. 111.

CHAPTER VII

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE TRINITY

During the controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, speculation gave place to dogma, experiment to law, and free inquiry to ecclesiastical authority. New ideas no longer emerged, and the varied growth of two centuries were now analysed, classified, selected, and clothed in less ambiguous language. Some were branded as heresy, rejected and eliminated from the thought of the Church; others were guaranteed as orthodox and elevated into a catholic faith. The scheme of orthodoxy was modelled on the creed, its categories were derived from the Logos theology, and its issues were decided, apparently by chance majorities in packed councils, assembled and controlled by political intrigue, but really and on the whole, by its superior adequacy to preserve and communicate the essential meaning of Christianity as the religion of salvation.[1]

I

At the root of the Arian controversy lay the most universal and imperative of all questions: whether or not the eternal God revealed and communicated Himself to man? For Christians, this issue narrowed itself into affirming or denying that God the Father manifested Himself in Jesus Christ, and that to know Christ was also to know the Father. The problem might have been

[1] See generally Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*[2] (1900).

stated more particularly in terms of the experience of forgiveness, holiness and blessedness, which the believer obtained by faith in Christ, or of the moral relations of God, Christ, and believers, as Augustine partly did. But Greek theology had already made knowledge the dominant factor in salvation, and had reduced the facts and factors of religious experience into metaphysical concepts and their relations. It had therefore limited itself to stating the most fundamental problem of religion in terms of the most general concept of metaphysics, in terms of essence (*ousia*). It was by no necessity of religion or of Christianity, but only of Greek theology, that the supreme question of religion assumed the form, whether Jesus Christ or the Logos was of the same essence (*homo-ousios*) as God, or of a different essence (*hetero-ousios*) from Him.

Arius and his school were the victims of the inherent rationalism of Greek theology. Their choice seemed to lie between regarding God as unknown and unknowable, and reducing Him to the finite level of human reason; the majority of them chose the former alternative, and held that He was incomprehensible and incommunicable, and that therefore the Logos, who was known, was of a different essence from God, a creature whom He had sent forth as His agent and messenger. Arianism was a blend of the agnostic element in Platonism with heathen polytheism. It removed the supreme God beyond human ken, made Christ a creature, and worshipped Him as a demi-god. This line of thought had mingled with the teaching of the Apologists and Origen, but with them it was an inconsistent element in a system that strove to embrace the full revelation of God. Arius isolated it and built it into a whole theology. Over against it, Athanasius and his party sought, through the medium of the more ideal element in Greek philosophy, to express the Christian faith, that in Christ God Himself appeared. Christ as the Logos and Son of God was co-eternal with the Father, of the same essence as the supreme God, and in Him God

communicated Himself to man, that He might bring man to Himself.

It was the logic of the creed that brought the Holy Spirit into the controversy and its issues. If God had a second revelation hypostasis, and another medium of His self-communication, besides the Logos, the same reasoning would apply to it as to the Logos. If God was unknown and unknowable, the Spirit like the Logos must be of another essence than God, and a creature. Or if God really communicated Himself, His essence must be equally present in the Spirit as in the Logos. Neither Arians nor Athanasians, indeed, regarded the existence of the Spirit as hypothetical, nor was its distinct personality questioned, for Sabellianism had practically disappeared. The only question that arose was whether it was God or a creature.

All parties attributed to the Spirit a sphere of operation which had now become a constant tradition. It was 'given to believers for comfort, sanctification, and perfecting.' It was 'the Paraclete which Christ had promised to His apostles, and after His ascension to heaven, had sent to teach them, and to bring all things to their remembrance, whereby also the souls of those who have sincerely believed in Him shall be sanctified.' [1] Yet it is noteworthy that in the literature of the Nicene period generally, the references to the work of the Spirit are comparatively rare. Its peculiar offices of revelation and sanctification are more often assigned to the Son. Moreover, a strong tendency had set in, both in popular religion and in theology, to substitute for the Logos and the Spirit the mediation of lower and nearer means of grace. Worship was offered to and through the Virgin, the saints, and the angels.[2] Authority over mind and conduct was exercised by the priesthood, on the basis of tradition and the Rule of

[1] Hahn-Harnack, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, etc., pp. 184-88; Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 166-69.
[2] Tixeront, *op. cit.*, ii. 133 f., 193 f.

Faith.[1] All saving grace was mystically communicated to the soul through the objective efficacy of the sacraments.[2] The growth of these surrogates weakened the practical interest in the Spirit, and relegated it more and more to the region of a 'sacred' and otiose tradition. Whatever power it had lay behind and worked through the more immediate and concrete objects, agents, and mediators of Christian worship.

So little was the Spirit in itself a living issue that the Arian controversy proceeded for a whole generation without raising the question of its nature. According to Athanasius, Arius taught that 'the essences of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit were separate in nature, and estranged and disconnected and alien and without participation in one another, and (as he expressed it) altogether and infinitely unlike one another both in essence and in glory.'[3]

There is no evidence that Arius speculated specially about the Holy Spirit. But in view of this statement by Athanasius, it is a striking fact that the Council of Nicea simply affirmed the primitive article, 'I believe in the Holy Spirit,' without adapting the Homo-ousios or any equivalent definition to it. Several explanations have been offered of the omission. 'Either the Church did not realise that the Person of the Holy Spirit was virtually included in the Arian attack upon the Person of the Son, or she was not prepared to pronounce a decisive judgment upon the Godhead of the Spirit, or as is more probable, she was not concerned to anticipate heresy, or to define the terms of Catholic communion more precisely than the occasion demanded.'[4]

But it is a most significant fact that Athanasius, before the controversy opened, set forth in his treatise, *De Incarnatione*, an explanation of God's plan of salvation

[1] Sabatier, *The Religions of Authority*, etc., E. tr., pp. 82-99.
[2] Tixeront, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-92.
[3] Athan., *Or. Contra. Arian.*, I. ii. 6. [4] Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

without taking any account at all of the Holy Spirit. Creation, redemption, and regeneration are effected wholly and solely by the Logos. So special a function of the Spirit as the miraculous conception is here attributed to the Logos Himself (viii. 3). The Spirit only appears in the formal doxology at the end.

Some writers attach much importance to the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem, as evidence of independent interest in the doctrine of the Spirit.[1] Cyril was a more conservative adherent to creed and tradition than Athanasius. He was even suspected of Arian sympathies, because he avoided the use of the term Homo-ousios of the Son, and preferred to confine his statement to the language of Scripture. While the Alexandrian developed his system of salvation out of the doctrine of the Logos, the bishop of Jerusalem set forth the Christian teaching in a series of lectures on the creed, in which he illustrates each article with copious quotations from Scripture. This plan necessitated some treatment of the idea of the Holy Spirit. After repelling various heresies which the Church had rejected,[2] he enlarges upon the gifts of the Spirit as set forth in the Old and New Testament,[3] and dwells upon its efficacy in baptism as the seal of the believer's soul and the agent of every grace. 'It is living and intelligent, a sanctifying principle of all things made by God through Christ.'[4] It is distinguished from all other spirits, and placed in authority above all angels, spirits, virtues, principalities, powers, thrones, and dominions.[5] It is honoured together with the Father and Son. The Son and the Holy Spirit alone can know the Father 'since the only-begotten Son together with the Holy Spirit is a partaker of the Father's Godhead.'[6] But on all questions relating to the nature of the Spirit, and its essential relation to God, Cyril deprecates and avoids speculation. 'The

[1] Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-10; Schermann, *Die Gottheit des hl. Geistes*, pp. 17-47.
[2] *Catech.*, xvi. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, xvi., xvii. [4] *Ibid.*, xvi. 3.
[5] *Ibid.*, xvi. 13, 23. [6] *Ibid.*, iv. 16, vi. 6.

Father through the Son with the Holy Spirit is the giver of all grace; the gifts of the Father are none other than those of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. . . . It is enough for us to know these things, but inquire not curiously into His nature or substance.'[1] Cyril indeed contributes nothing to the doctrine of the nature and person of the Spirit, but he sets forth the traditional and Scriptural teaching about its work, with a fulness and an earnestness which show that the article of belief in 'one Holy Spirit, the Comforter, which spake in the prophets,' was neither otiose nor meaningless for religious life in Jerusalem.

Eusebius of Cesarea resembled Cyril in his adherence to Scriptural language and his dislike of speculation and innovation. But he followed Origen in regarding the Spirit as having become (*genēton*), though it was not a creature (*ktiston*). In the latter part of his life, he wrote against Marcellus of Ancyra, who had developed the Homo-ousios in a Sabellian direction, and had made the personal distinctions in the Godhead into temporary aspects; the divine Monad had expanded into a Triad for the purposes of creation and salvation, and would again contract into a Monad when these purposes were fulfilled. Within these limits Marcellus anticipated the Western doctrine that the Spirit proceeded from Father and Son.[2] Eusebius emphasised the reality and permanence of the personal distinctions, mainly on the basis of Scripture, and he so far subordinated the Spirit that he refused to call it God, because it did not derive its origin directly from the Father, but was one of the things made (*genomenōn*) by the Son.[3]

II

It was not until the Arian principle had been explicitly applied to the Holy Spirit that any advance was made

[1] *Catech.*, xvi. 24.
[2] Harnack, *op. cit.*, E. tr., iv. 112, n.
[3] *De Eccl. Theol.*, iii. 4-6.

with the definition of the doctrine. In the numerous Arian and Semi-Arian creeds that were issued from 325 to 360, the definition of the work of the Spirit is expanded, and nothing is said of its nature and person. But the second creed of Sirmium (357), after denying both the Homo-ousion and the Homoi-ousion of the Son, states that 'the Paraclete Spirit is through the Son, who sent it according to promise, that it might instruct, teach, and sanctify the apostles and all believers.'[1] The inference was therefore obvious that the Spirit, like the Son through whom it was, could neither be of the same, nor of similar, essence to the Father. Among the later and more extreme Anomoean Arians, Eunomius called the Spirit a creature of a creature.[2]

But the controversy about the Spirit arose from the denial of its deity by the Semi-Arians, who acknowledged the deity of the Son under one of the two formulæ, that He was of the same essence, or of like essence, as the Father. When Athanasius was in his third exile (356-62), he received information from Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, that certain Egyptian believers, after rejecting the Arian doctrine of the Son, were teaching about the Holy Spirit, 'not only that it was a creature, but that it was one of the ministering spirits, differing only in degree from the angels.'[3]

About the same time, a similar doctrine was taught at Constantinople and in its neighbourhood by Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, and his disciple Marathonius, by Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, Basil, bishop of Ancyra, and others. These bishops had been deposed by the Arians because of their approach to the Nicene doctrine of the Son, but they clung all the more tenaciously to the Arian view of the Holy Spirit, and they won many adherents to their doctrine in the East. No adequate account of the teaching of Macedonius and his companions is available,

[1] Hahn-Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201. [2] Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 182, n. 1.
[3] Athan., *Ad. Serap.*, i. 1.

for no writings of theirs have survived. Arians and Semi-Arians were said to have held 'one common opinion concerning the Holy Spirit, for both parties maintained that the Holy Spirit differs in substance [from Father and Son], and that it is but the minister, and the third in order, honour, and substance.' [1] Macedonius 'affirmed that the Holy Spirit was not a participant of the same dignities [as Father and Son], and called it a minister and a servant, and such terms as might be applied to the angels without error.' [2] 'But when Macedonius began to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, Eustathius said, "I can neither admit that the Holy Spirit is God, nor can I dare affirm it to be a creature."' [3] Gregory Nazianzen, describing the state of opinion some twenty years later (*c.* 380), shows that the doctrine of the Spirit was still in a very unsettled condition. 'Some considered the Holy Spirit to be an energy, others a creature, others God, and others were uncertain what to call it, out of reverence for Scripture, which made no clear statement.' [4] He represents his opponents as arguing by the syllogism that the Spirit must be 'unbegotten or begotten, and if unbegotten there were two Inoriginates, but if begotten, there were two Sons, or the Spirit was a Grandson God, and so they would reduce the Trinity to absurdity.' [5] Perhaps Harnack rightly interprets the motive of the Semi-Arians to have been 'that they wished to preserve in their doctrine of the Holy Spirit the conservatism which they had had to abandon as regards the doctrine of the Son.' [6] As Eusebius of Cesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem had been reluctant to accept the innovating and unscriptural term Homo-ousios of the Son, these Semi-Arians had still greater reason, in the vagueness of patristic teaching, to refuse the unscriptural formula of the consubstantial deity

[1] Sozomen, *H. E.*, vi. 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 27.
[3] Socrates, *H. E.*, ii. 45.
[4] *Or.*, xxxi. 5.
[5] *Ibid.*, xxxi. 7. Cf. Athan., *Ad Serap.*, i. 15; Didymus, *De Sp. Sancto*, ad fin.; Swete, *Early History*, etc., p. 48, n. 1 and 4.
[6] *Op. cit.*, E. tr., iv. p. 114.

of the Spirit. But their logical position was weaker than that of either Arians or Nicenes.

III

Athanasius recognised that the deity of the Son and the Spirit must stand or fall together. Father, Son, and Spirit were named together in Scripture and creed, and to admit that the third person was a creature would imply the same of the second. 'Since the Holy Spirit holds the same rank and nature in relation to the Son as the Son does in relation to the Father, how can he who calls the Spirit a creature avoid thinking the same of the Son? For if the Spirit is a creature of the Son, it follows that the Logos is a creature of the Father.'[1] Athanasius had spent his life in defending the deity of the Son, and the necessity of safeguarding the doctrine against this indirect attack compelled him to put the Spirit in the same category of deity. In his letters to Serapion against the Egyptian Tropicists,[2] he affirms the deity of the Spirit in the strongest possible terms. He applies to it the Nicene term Homoousios. It is of the same nature and Godhead as the Father and Son.[3] It is without change or variation and inseparable in essence from the Father and Son.[4] He anathematises those who call it a creature and separate from the essence of Christ, for it were mere hypocrisy to confess the faith of Nicea, and to say that any part of the Trinity is a creature.[5] He quotes with approval the statement that acknowledges 'a Holy Trinity, but one Godhead and one beginning, and that the Son is co-essential with the Father (as the fathers said), while the Holy Spirit is not a creature, nor external, but proper to and inseparable from the essence of the Father and Son.'[6] He supports

[1] *Ad Serap.*, i. 21; cf. *Ep. ad Max.*, v.
[2] So nicknamed because they explained Scriptural passages that seemed to imply the deity of the Spirit as *tropae* or figures of speech.
[3] *Ad Serap.*, i. 2, 17, 20, 27, 32.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 21-29, ii. 6.
[5] *Tom. ad Ant.*, iii. 11.
[6] *Ibid.*, v.

this doctrine with copious quotations from Scripture and by reference to patristic tradition.[1] And he advances two further arguments from principles already established in the Nicene doctrine of the Son. (*a*) The completeness and symmetry of the doctrine of the Trinity demanded belief in the consubstantial deity of the Spirit. Since Scripture and tradition named Father, Son, and Holy Spirit together, this Trinity must be regarded as one, co-equal, co-eternal, and co-essential, and no creature, no alien nature, no inferior glory can be included in it. The monotheistic motive of the Homo-ousios, which forbade the inclusion of a creature-Son in the Godhead, avails equally against including a creature-Spirit. 'The Lord founded the Faith of the Catholic Church on the Trinity and He could not have classed the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son had the Spirit been a creature. The Trinity, if it be a fact in the divine life, must be an eternal fact; the evolution of an original duality into a Trinity by the addition of a created nature, is a thought not to be entertained by Christians. As the Trinity ever was, so it is now, and as it is now, such it ever was.'[2] (*b*) An argument of equal cogency for the deity of the Spirit was derived from its work in human salvation. It was the same as in the case of the Son. In either case, a creature could not do the work of God in man. As the Logos became man that we might be made divine, so by the indwelling of the Spirit we are also made divine, but it could not deify if it were not of divine nature. The work of the Spirit was to illumine, sanctify, renew, anoint, and to communicate divine gifts to man, 'but if by participation in the Spirit we become partakers of the divine nature, it were folly to say that the Spirit is of created nature and not of the nature of God.'[3]

Athanasius had no difficulty in demonstrating the unity

[1] *Ad Serap.*, i. 4-6, 28, 29, iv.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 7. Cf. i. 17, 28, 29; *Contra Arian.*, i. 17, 18.
[3] *Ad Serap.*, i. 19-24.

and deity of the whole Godhead, but his language becomes more ambiguous where he treats of the distinction of persons. He assumes the personality of the Spirit from Scripture, creed, and tradition, but the functions and status he assigns to it are those of the Son over again. In explaining the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, he practically identifies it with the divine personality of the Son.[1] It is in a peculiar sense the Spirit of the Son.[2] In rank and nature it is related to the Son, as the Son is to the Father.[3] It is sent and supplied by the Son, from whom it receives all that it has.[4] It is said to proceed from the Father, but because it shines forth from the Son, who is of the Father.[5] 'Being that which proceeds from the Father, it is ever in the hands of the Father who sends and of the Son who conveys it, by whose means it fills all things.'[6] But on the precise meaning of procession from the Father, and the difference between that and the begetting (*gennēsis*) of the Son, Athanasius professes ignorance, and deprecates all inquiry into the inner being of the Godhead.[7] His writings afford no consistent doctrine of the internal relations of the Trinity. His chief emphasis lay on the unity and the co-equal Godhead of the persons. He affirms less definitely the eternity of their distinctions, in opposition to Marcellus of Ancyra.[8] But he had no terms or formula to express the distinction of persons,[9] and the tendency to merge the Spirit in the Son still persists.

Didymus, the blind catechist, succeeded Athanasius as defender of the Nicene theology at Alexandria, and in two books, *De Trinitate* and *De Spiritu Sancto*, he expounds the doctrine of the Spirit on the same lines as Athanasius. It was no creature, but a divine person of the same essence, and of equal glory with the Father. It proceeded from the Father and was sent by the Son,

[1] *Ad Serap.*, iv. 19, 20. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 25. [3] *Ibid.*, i. 21.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 1; *Contra Arian.*, iii. 24, ii. 18.
[5] *Ad Serap.*, i. 20. [6] *Expos. Fid.*, iv. [7] *Ad Serap.*, i. 17-19.
[8] *Contra Arian.*, iv. 13, 14. [9] Tixeront, *op. cit.*, ii. 75.

and it had no substance but that which the Son gave it. These writings of Didymus were a systematic refutation of the Semi-Arian position, but they represent no appreciable advance in the development of the doctrine upon the teaching of Athanasius.[1] Epiphanius, another writer of the same school and period, unlike his contemporaries, did not hesitate to call the Spirit God; and in the second creed preserved in his *Ancoratus*, the Spirit is coupled with the Son in the anathema affixed to the Nicene Creed, which is thus directed against those who deny the eternal and consubstantial deity of both Son and Spirit. He called the Spirit the bond of the Trinity, standing midway between the Father and the Son, and proceeding from both. But his language also lacks precision as to the relation of the Spirit to the Trinity.[2]

IV

The task of completing the system of the Nicene theology fell to the Cappadocian theologians, Basil of Cesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen.[3] They took their stand on the Homo-ousios, and sought to correct the tendency of Athanasius to obscure the personal distinctions in the Godhead, by developing a terminology and a formula that secured the personality and defined the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Athanasius and the Nicene Fathers had really no term to denote personality. *Prosōpon* they disliked because of its Modalist associations,

[1] Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 221-25; Schermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-223.

[2] *Haer.*, III. i. 54; Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-29.

[3] Harnack states that Apollinaris of Laodicea, 'the great teacher' of the Cappadocians, was the first who completely *developed* the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. He taught the deity of the Spirit, and that the three persons (πρόσωπα), Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were united by nature in one Godhead as a Trinity, and he related the distinctive property of each person to His work in the world. But the uncertainty as to what writings should be attributed to him, and as to his history generally, renders it doubtful whether he anticipated or followed the Cappadocians in his Trinitarian teaching. Harnack, *op. cit.*, E. tr., iv. 119-20 (ii.² 285); Noesgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-65.

and they used *hypostasis* as a synonym of *ousia*, as the Westerns also used *substantia* and *essentia*, although other Eastern theologians used *hypostasis* to denote personality, and spoke of three divine hypostases, an ambiguity which produced much misunderstanding, especially between East and West. For that reason the Council of Alexandria in 362 agreed to drop the term altogether.[1] But the Cappadocians reverted to the usage of Origen, and of Basil of Ancyra, who had already defined *hypostasis* in a narrower sense than *ousia*.[2] While retaining *ousia* to denote the common essence or substance of deity, they used *hypostasis* to express the *differentia* of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, with all the characteristics peculiar to each.[3] Hence they arrived at the formula, one divine essence or substance in three persons or subjects. The true flock 'worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one Godhead; God the Father, God the Son, and (be not angry) God the Holy Spirit; one nature in three persons, intellectual, perfect, individually subsisting, separate in number, but not separate in Godhead.'[4] In Basil's statement, the formulæ of the *Quicunque vult*, with their defiant repetition of antitheses, are anticipated: 'As the Father is substance, the Son is substance, and the Holy Spirit is substance, but there are not three substances; as the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, but there are not three Gods, for God is one and the same, since there is only one and the same substance, although each of the persons may be called subsistent substance and God.'[5]

The Cappadocians further defined what was common and what was peculiar to each person. 'Common to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are their being uncreated and Godhead; common to the Son and Spirit is their derivation from the Father; peculiar to the Father is ingenerateness, to the Son, generation, and to the Spirit, its sending forth'

[1] Athan., *Tom. ad Ant.*, v., vi.; cf. Augustine, *De Trin.*, v. 9, 10, vii. 7.
[2] Bethune-Baker, *Text and Studies*, VII. i. pp. 80, 81.
[3] Basil, *Epp.*, xxxviii.; ccxxxvi., 6. [4] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxxiii. 16.
[5] *Homilia*, xxiv. 3.

or procession, which is the more usual term for the *differentia* of the Spirit.[1] Another difference is that the Father is Cause, while the Son and Spirit are Caused, and the Son is directly from the First Cause, but the Spirit mediately 'by that which is directly from the First Cause,' that is, through the Son; but this difference of Cause, Caused, and mediately Caused is not a distinction of natures, but a difference in the manner of existence.[2] Basil gives as the property of the Spirit 'that it is known after the Son and with Him, and that it derives its subsistence from the Father.'[3]

These writers were fully alive to the difficulties and the apparent or real contradiction in their doctrine. It was 'at best a token and reflection of the truth, not the actual truth itself.'[4] They recognised that they had to steer a middle course between Sabellian Unitarianism and Arian Tritheism, between Jewish monotheism and Greek polytheism, preserving the truth in each without falling into the error of either.[5]

Some recent historians have discovered in their writings evidence that, in their anxiety to conciliate the Semi-Arians, they approached the latter's position so far as to interpret Homo-ousios in the sense of Homoi-ousios (of the same essence=of like essence), and 'changed the substantial *unity* of substance expressed in the Homo-ousios into a mere likeness or *equality* of substance, so that there was no longer a threefold unity, but a trinity,' which means that their doctrine was virtually a tritheism.[6] Against this view, the frequent repetition of Homo-ousios, one essence, and equivalent phrases, proves abundantly

[1] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxv. 16; cf. xxix. 2, xxxi. 8, xxxix. 12; Greg. Nyssa, *Contra Macedon.*, ii.

[2] Greg. Nyssa, *Quod non sint tres Dei*, ad fin.

[3] *Ep.* xxxviii. 4.

[4] Basil, *Ep.*, xxxviii. 5.

[5] Greg. Nyssa, *Or. Catech.*, Praef. and iii.; *Adv. Eunom.*, ii.; Greg. Naz., *Or.*, ii. 27, 28, xxv. 16.

[6] Harnack, *op. cit.*, E. tr., iv. 84 ff. (ii.[2] 252 ff.); Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 247, n. 1. For criticism, see Bethune-Baker, *Text and Studies*, VII. i.; Tixeront, *op. cit.*, ii. 82 ff.

that it was at least the intention of the Cappadocians to maintain the unity and identity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But when, with equal emphasis, they exclude from the one essence all the properties (*idiōmata*) and characteristics (*charaktēres*) of deity, and attribute them to the hypostases, it is difficult to attach any significance to the essence and to the unity which it alone constitutes, and the only safeguard for any reality of the unity was to declare that the essence of God was incomprehensible, unknown, and unknowable.[1] They believed in the unity, but knew not how to give it any meaning. Their real difficulty was the inadequacy of the metaphysical categories with which they worked, of genus and species, substance and property, essence and hypostasis, to comprehend and articulate plurality in unity as a concrete fact.

But this defect of their intellectual apparatus tended in the same way to make the distinction of persons unreal. The properties, Unbegotten, Begotten, and Proceeding, were abstract distinctions dogmatically assumed, which had no ground in reason or experience. Fatherhood and Sonship were conceived as purely metaphysical relations between the divine hypostases themselves, and they retained none of the personal and moral significance of the relation of father and son. The other distinction, of Cause and Caused, is further defined as indicating 'that the Son does not exist without generation nor the Father by generation,' which therefore merges it into the former distinction of Unbegotten and Begotten.[2] Equally abstract and unreal is the distinction of succession. 'Therefore the unity, having from all eternity arrived by motion at duality, found its rest in the Trinity. This is what we mean by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.'[3] This statement has the air of a definition, but it only says that the One is also eternally Three. And Basil admits that 'the communion

[1] Basil, *Adv. Eunom.*, ii. 4.
[2] Greg. Nyssa, *Quod non sint tres Dei*, ad fin.
[3] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxix. 2.

and distinction apprehended in them are, in a certain sense, ineffable and inconceivable,'[1] and particularly, the manner of the Spirit's subsistence is ineffable.[2]

The Cappadocian definition of the proper hypostasis of the Spirit is a veritable circle. If it be asked what is the *differentia* of the Spirit, the answer is 'Procession.' If it be further asked what is Procession, the answer is 'difference.' 'Its most peculiar characteristic is that it is neither of those things which we contemplate in the Father and the Son respectively.'[3] 'What then is Procession? Do you tell me what is the Unbegottenness of the Father, and I will explain to you the physiology of the generation of the Son and the Procession of the Spirit, and we shall both be struck with madness for prying into the mystery of God.'[4] The real reason why Procession was made the differentia of the Spirit was that the word was found in Scripture.[5] Basil connects with the Son especially 'a descent into human interests or any of the operations of the economy,' and he calls the Spirit 'the power to sanctify,'[6] but elsewhere he shows that sanctifying was no property of the Spirit, since it is also predicated of Father and Son.[7] Thus, as far as the metaphysical doctrine of the Godhead is concerned, its hypostases as well as its essence, its distinctions as well as its unity, disappear in mystery, and the Cappadocians might as well be charged with Sabellianism as with Tritheism.

Their doctrine of three persons fares no better when it is brought to the test of experience and efficacy. All the concrete attributes of deity belong equally to Father, Son, and Spirit. 'Immortality, blessedness, goodness, wisdom, power, justice, holiness, every excellent attribute is predicated of the Holy Spirit, just as it is predicated of the Father and the Son, with the exception of those by which the persons are clearly and distinctly divided from each

[1] *Ep.*, xxxviii. 4.
[2] *De Sp. Sancto*, xlvi.
[3] Greg. Nyssa, *Adv. Eunom.*, i. 22.
[4] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxxi. 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, xxxii.; John xv. 26.
[6] *Ep.*, ccxiv. 3, 4.
[7] *Ibid.*, clxxxix. 7.

other, namely, that the Holy Spirit is not called the Father or the Son, but all other names by which the Father and the Son are named are applied by Scripture to the Holy Spirit also.' [1] Neither are they divided in will nor parted in power.[2] An argument for the unity of nature is based upon the identity of operation. 'The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit alike sanctify, quicken, enlighten, and comfort. No one will attribute a special and peculiar operation of hallowing to the operation of the Spirit, after hearing the Saviour in the Gospel saying to the Father about His disciples: Sanctify them in Thy name. In like manner, all other operations are equally performed, in all who are worthy of them, by the Father and by the Son and by the Holy Spirit. Every grace and virtue, guidance, life, consolation, change into the immortal, the passage into freedom, and all other good things which come down to man.' [3] 'But in the case of the Divine nature, we do not similarly [as in the case of men] learn that the Father does anything by Himself in which the Son does not work jointly, or again that the Son has any operation apart from the Holy Spirit, but every operation which extends from God to the creation . . . has its origin from the Father and proceeds through the Son and is perfected in the Holy Spirit.' [4] Moreover, the adoration of one person is the adoration of the three, because of the equality of honour and deity between them.[5] Basil defines the nature of the Holy Spirit in the same terms as spirit in general and in the phrase 'God is a spirit.' It is 'an intelligent essence, infinite, eternal, bountiful, self-subsistent, all-sufficient, indivisible, and omnipresent.' [6] Thus all that may be known or experienced of the divine nature, character, or operation is known of the three persons in their unity and in the same sense.

[1] Greg. Nyssa, *De Fide*, ad fin. Cf. *Adv. Eunom.*, ii. 15; Basil, *Ep.*, clxxxix. 5.
[2] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxxi. 14.
[3] Basil, *Ep.*, clxxxix. 7.
[4] Greg. Nyssa, *Quod non sint tres Dei*, ad med.; cf. *De S. Trinit.*, ad med.
[5] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxxi. 12.
[6] *De Sp. Sancto*, xxii.

Both Basil and Gregory Nazianzen dwell with eloquence and enthusiasm on the work of the Spirit. It worked in creation and in the inspiration of the Old Testament, in the incarnation of Christ and in His miracles. It endowed the apostles and ordered the Church. It secures remission of sins, deifies in baptism, sanctifies, intercedes, teaches, illumines, reveals, endows with life eternal. It sanctifies all the heavenly hosts, and with Christ will come in final judgment. Souls in which the Spirit dwells become spiritual and send forth their grace to others. From it come knowledge of the future, understanding of mysteries, apprehension of things hidden, the distribution of grace, the heavenly citizenship, a place in the angels' choir, endless joy, abiding in God, likeness to God, and above all, to become God.[1] Yet all these works are no less operations of the whole Godhead, and they are recited as works of the Spirit to prove that it is God.[2]

Sometimes the Spirit is represented as the point of contact of deity with humanity. 'The way of the knowledge of God lies from the one Spirit through the one Son to the one Father, and conversely, the natural goodness and holiness and the royal dignity extend from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit.'[3] Again, 'just as he who lays hold on one end of the chain pulls the other to him, so he who draws the Spirit . . . at the same time draws both the Son and the Father.'[4] Whatever sympathy the Cappadocians may have had with the Semi-Arians, the situation in which they found themselves required them to emphasise the unity rather than the plurality of God. They were the champions of the Nicene theology. Sabellian unitarianism had ceased to be a danger. The Anomoean Arians, who denied the deity of both Son and Spirit, had still to be combated. But a more subtle danger to the Nicene theology were the Semi-

[1] Basil, *De Sp. Sancto*, xxiii., xlix., l.; Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxxi. 29, xli. 9.
[2] Basil, *De Sp. Sancto*, lvi.
[3] *Ibid.*, xlvii.
[4] Basil, *Ep.*, xxxviii. 4.

Arians, who acknowledged the Homo-ousios of the Son, but denied it of the Spirit. To refute, persuade, and win over these, the Cappadocians marshalled all their resources of Scripture, tradition, and argument. They had therefore a real interest in developing the doctrine of the Spirit for its own sake, and in proving its Godhead. And they bestowed upon it more ample and systematic treatment than had ever been done before. Whatever may be thought of the limitations of their Trinitarian scheme, they placed the Spirit at last, and for the first time, in a position of complete equality and consubstantiality with the Father and Son. They styled it a hypostasis that it might be conceived as participating in the divine essence. They described its operations to prove that they were the operations of God. But the burden of their proof of its deity was derived from Scripture, creed, and tradition. Because it was named together with the Father and Son in the Pauline grace, in the baptismal formula, in the creed, in the written and unwritten tradition of the fathers, and in the worship of the Church, it must therefore be God equally with the Father and Son.[1] Basil, however, was rather disinclined to call the Spirit God, because he wished neither to provoke the anger of the Arians nor to give offence to the Semi-Arians.[2] The name God is not given to the Spirit in the *De Spiritu Sancto*, but it is in some of his letters; and it is abundantly clear that he taught the deity of the Spirit, while he preferred to use only Scriptural language. Gregory Nazianzen indeed alleges a similar reserve in the actual process of the revelation of the Trinity itself. 'The Old Testament proclaimed the Father openly, the Son more obscurely. The New manifested the Son and suggested the deity of the Spirit. Now the Spirit itself dwells among us with a clear demonstration of itself.' It was not safe to reveal the whole Godhead

[1] Basil, *De Sp. Sancto*, xxiv.-xxvi.; *Epp.*, viii. 11, lii. 4, cv., ccx. 4, clix. 2; Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xl. 43.
[2] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xx.

until men were able to bear the light of its glory.[1] But the Cappadocians were all profoundly convinced that the time was ripe to vindicate, with whatever necessary reserve of language, the position of the Spirit in the unity of the divine essence. They were less conscious than Athanasius of the religious significance of the Homo-ousios, and more moved by the metaphysical motive to construct an intellectual scheme of deity that would correspond to the baptismal formula and the Rule of Faith. And they were fully conscious that to leave the Holy Spirit in the category of a creature, while it occupied the same position as the Father and Son in the forms of faith and worship, would be to degrade Christianity to the level of heathen polytheism. Their creed and their metaphysics being what they were, they rendered the highest service to Christian truth by affirming the deity of the Holy Spirit. They completed the work of Athanasius, and concluded the development of the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Holy Spirit in the Eastern Church.

The Synod of Alexandria in 362 had anathematised 'those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and separate from the nature of Christ,'[2] but it had evolved no category or formula to express the equal deity of the Spirit and of the Trinity. The Council of Constantinople in 381, from which the Macedonian bishops had been compelled to withdraw, anathematised all who denied the deity of the Spirit.[3] The Council of Chalcedon declared that for orthodox belief, the simple Nicene formula, 'I believe in the Holy Spirit,' was sufficient, but that in order to refute the Pneumatomachians, the Council of Constantinople had added that 'the Holy Spirit was Lord and God, and proceeding from the Father.'[4] This indicates the opinion at Chalcedon rather than at Constantinople. The complete Cappadocian formula was never embodied

[1] Greg. Naz., *Or.*, xxxi. 26. [2] Athan., *Tom. ad Ant.*, iii.
[3] Bright, *Canons of the first four General Councils*, xxi.
[4] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 455.

in the Eastern creeds, but it became the prevalent orthodox doctrine of the Greek churches.

John of Damascus, in the eighth century, wrote his *Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, a summary of Eastern orthodoxy, and its doctrines of the Trinity and of the Holy Spirit are precisely those of the Cappadocians. 'We believe in one God . . . one essence, one Godhead, one power, will, operation, origin, authority, lordship, sovereignty—known and worshipped with one worship in three perfect hypostases . . . which are united without confusion and distinct without separation. . . . We believe in one Holy Spirit, the Lord, and the Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son, who together with the Father and Son is worshipped and glorified, as being both co-essential with them and co-eternal . . . and is called God. . . . The Holy Spirit is from the Father, not by generation, but by procession; that there is a difference between the two we have been taught, but wherein they differ we know not. . . . The Holy Spirit is from the Father and we call it the Spirit of the Father; we call it also the Spirit of the Son, but we do not speak of it as from (ἐκ) the Son . . . the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.'[1] Theology in the Greek Church has never developed beyond this eighth-century statement of the Cappadocian doctrine, and its modern confessions only differ from it in that they categorically deny the Western doctrine of the *filioque*—that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son.[2]

[1] *De Fide Orthodoxa*, i. 8; Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 281-82.

[2] See *Orthodoxa Confessio* (1643), Quaest. ix., xii., lxix.-lxxxi.; *Dosithei Confessio* (1672), Decret. i.; *The Longer Catechism of the Eastern Church* (1839), 90, 94, 95, 238-51; in Schaff, *The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*.

CHAPTER VIII

GOD, THE HOLY SPIRIT

1. WESTERN theology naturally and speedily assimilated the Cappadocians' defence of the equal deity of the Spirit. A difficulty was felt at first in the formula of *three hypostases*, because *hypostasis* was the etymological equivalent of the Latin *substantia*, and in that sense the Eastern formula inevitably led to Tritheism.[1] But when the Latin theologians understood, like Athanasius at the council of Alexandria, that hypostasis was used in a sense approximate to that of their term *persona*, and especially, when they found that the formula was used to maintain the full deity of the Spirit, they accepted it and translated it into their own terms: *una substantia* (or *essentia*), *tres personae*. Tertullian had already familiarised the West with the Latin formula, and the Western mind generally was not interested in the subtle distinctions raised by the Arian controversy. Western Arianism was more a political than a theological movement—'in the West indeed Arianism scarcely had any legitimate footing at all'[2]—and its orthodoxy was more dogmatic than speculative. That the Spirit was confessed in the Creed sufficed for belief in its deity, and the shortest and surest way to conceive the deity of the three names confessed was to affirm their essential unity. The natural bent of the Western mind therefore was towards an unscientific Sabellianism, rather than to Tritheism or to speculative Trinitarianism. Yet the East was too near and its specu-

[1] *Supra*, p. 151.

[2] Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

lative unrest too insistent, to allow the West to confess its 'apostles' creed' without asking any questions as to its meaning and consistency. When the West was compelled to consider Greek speculations, its custom was to accept such as conformed with its standard of orthodoxy and to affirm them dogmatically, but a few giant minds laid hold of the Greek formulæ and filled them with a new meaning, in accord with the more practical and experimental view of salvation that was characteristic of Latin Christianity. While the bishops of Rome gave the weight of their authority to the Athanasian formulæ, Augustine so reconstructed the Cappadocian doctrine of the Trinity, and especially of the Holy Spirit, in direct relation to his experience of divine grace, that the result produced a permanent cleavage between the orthodoxy of East and West.

2. Bishop Liberius of Rome in 365 gave his warrant of orthodoxy to a deputation of Eastern Semi-Arians, who had confessed the Nicene Creed, without disclosing their denial of the consubstantiality of the Spirit. But his successor, Damasus, who had been more fully informed of the position in the East, presided over four councils held in Rome in the years 369, 376, 377, and 380, which endorsed the Nicene Creed, affirmed the consubstantial deity of the Spirit, and condemned Sabellians, Arians, and Macedonians.[1]

Meanwhile, the Arian teaching was more or less successfully contested by a group of Latin writers, contemporaries of the Cappadocians, Hilary of Poitiers, Marius Victorinus, Lucifer of Cagliari, Niceta of Remesiana, Phoebadius of Agen, and Ambrose of Milan.

Hilary affirmed the deity of the Son and developed an interesting doctrine of the union of his two natures, but his doctrine of the Spirit was elementary, uncertain, and confused. He considered it necessary, perhaps against Sabellianism, to affirm the Spirit's existence 'inasmuch as it is given, received, retained. It is joined with the

[1] Tixeront, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 60.

Father and Son in our confession of faith and it cannot be excluded from a true confession of the Father and Son.' [1] He declares that the Spirit is not a creature and attributes to it his own regeneration, but does not call it God. And he thinks it wrong to discuss its existence; 'I possess the reality, though I comprehend it not.' [2] He fails to distinguish at all clearly between God as Spirit, the Son as Spirit, and the Holy Spirit,[3] though he desires to distinguish the names.[4] The affinities of his doctrine are with the Eastern theology of the ante-Nicene period.

Phoebadius, like Hilary, identified the Word and the Spirit which assumed flesh in Jesus Christ, and also endeavoured to distinguish from it the Holy Spirit which the Son sent of His own substance to comfort, sanctify, and lead into eternal life, and he confessed three persons of one substance and one divinity. In a creed that has been attributed to Phoebadius, the Holy Spirit is called God. 'We confess not three gods, but Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God. . . . We worship the Holy Spirit, not unbegotten nor begotten nor created nor made, but of the Father and the Son, always co-eternal in the Father and the Son.' [5]

Victorinus was a Neo-Platonist philosopher who became a Christian late in life, and carried the habits of his philosophy into theology. He affirmed the consubstantial deity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit with all possible emphasis; but like Hilary, he scarcely distinguished the three persons, and in particular he came near to identifying the Holy Spirit with Christ. 'If God is spirit, and Jesus Christ is spirit, and the Holy Spirit is spirit, there are three of one substance. . . . All three are one, the Father a silence which is not silent, but a voice in silence, the Son the same voice now audible (*iam vox*), the Paraclete the voice's voice. . . . Christ our Lord is all things, flesh, Holy Spirit,

[1] *De Trin.*, ii. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, xii. 55, 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 31, 32.
[4] *Ibid.*, viii. 25.
[5] Hahn-Harnack, *Bibliothek*, pp. 258-60; Noesgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-77.

the power of the Highest, the Logos. . . . The Holy Spirit is in some sense Jesus Christ Himself . . . but a Christ within . . . both are one substance, each has His own personal existence.' [1]

Lucifer, in the dogmatic manner of the West, asserts that 'the apostolic faith acknowledges a complete Trinity, and confesses the one and only Godhead of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit,' and all who differ from this doctrine are inspired of the devil.[2]

Niceta argues in more apologetic tone that it is idle to refuse to the Spirit the name of God, or the worship due to God, since it has the power of God and is associated with the Father and Son, not only in baptism, but in all divine activities. 'I will therefore adore Father, Son, and Holy Spirit with one and the same religious worship, not separately as the heathen worship their "gods many," but as One God.' [3]

3. *Ambrose* of Milan was a Latin jurist and rhetorician, who as Christian bishop used the writings of the Greek theologians, in the practical and dogmatic spirit of the Western Church, to enforce its standards of orthodoxy. His three books *On the Holy Spirit* consist mainly of a string of arguments taken from the writings of Athanasius, Didymus, and Basil, to prove the deity of the Holy Spirit. But some of the characteristic marks of Western thought have impressed themselves upon the treatment. Some hints are found of the doctrine of grace developed by Augustine, and of its specific relation to the Holy Spirit. Righteousness is through faith in Christ, but by the mediation of the Church.[4] Faith and love are the conditions of forgiveness.[5] 'Grace comes of the Holy Spirit as of the Father and the Son. For how can there be grace without the Spirit, since all divine grace is in the Spirit?' [6] He makes the distinction between the work of Christ and

[1] Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, pp. 306-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 309. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 310-13. [4] *De Officiis*, i. 142.
[5] *De Poenit.*, ii. 80, 81. [6] *De Sp. Sancto*, i. 127.

the Spirit which became the dogma of a later time; 'Whom the Son redeems, the Spirit also accepts to sanctify them.'[1] Yet the burden of his argument for the deity of the Spirit rests upon the unity of its operations with that of the Father and the Son. All three bestow upon men one peace, one grace, one love, and one communion;[2] and in the Church, one authority, appointment, and gift.[3] And since 'the Holy Spirit is one will and operation with God the Father, it is also of one substance.'[4] The Spirit possesses the marks of deity in that it forgives sin, creates, and is worshipped.[5] Therefore where the Father is, there is the Son, and where the Son is, there is the Spirit.[6] 'We confess Father, Son, and Spirit, understanding in a perfect Trinity both fulness of divinity and unity of power.[7] True to his practical aim of refuting the Arians, and more particularly in the *De Spiritu Sancto*, the Semi-Arians, Ambrose devotes nearly the whole of his argument to prove that the Spirit is not a creature, but that it is God; he transforms the statement that 'God is a Spirit' into 'the Spirit is God.'[8] On the distinction of persons he has therefore very little to say. He notices that Father and Son are also called spirit. Yet the Holy Spirit is not confused with them but distinct from them. The only distinction which he specifies, however, is that the Spirit did not assume flesh and die, as the Son did, which defines no distinction within the eternal Godhead.[9] The inner life of the Trinity is a mystery of which Ambrose says no more than that the Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son.[10] He affords an indication of Western belief rather than a systematic or speculative treatment of the subject.[11]

4. AUGUSTINE was *the* father and constructive theologian

[1] *De Sp. Sancto*, iii. 115.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 127-31.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 153.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 142.
[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 134-43.
[6] *Ibid.*, i. 122.
[7] *De Fide.*, i. 10, iv. 91.
[8] *De Sp. Sancto*, iii. 59, 64.
[9] *Ibid.*, i. 106-7.
[10] *Ibid.*, i. 120.
[11] Noesgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79; Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-22.

of the Western Church *par excellence*, and the author of its doctrine of the Trinity. He brought to his work, besides his Western training and temperament, his knowledge and assimilation of the Neo-Platonic philosophy and of the theology of the Greek Fathers, his study of Scripture, with a more intimate understanding of Paul's theology than any previous father of the Church had possessed, and a profound personal experience of conversion and salvation by the grace of God, mediated through the sacraments and authority of the Church; and all these entered as determinative factors into his theology.

He based his doctrine of the Trinity on the Nicene theology, in the form in which it had become current as the catholic faith in the West, which he thus states: 'That Father, Son, and Holy Spirit imply a divine unity of one and the same substance in inseparable equality, and therefore they are not three gods but one God; since the Father begat the Son, therefore He who is Father is not Son, and the Son was begotten of the Father, therefore He who is Son is not Father; and the Holy Spirit is neither Father nor Son, but rather the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, Himself co-equal with the Father and Son, and pertaining to the unity of the Trinity.'[1] In an earlier work, Augustine had complained that while the doctrine of the Father and Son had been explained as fully as possible by previous writers, they had not so fully treated of the Holy Spirit that it was easy to understand what was its peculiar property, by which it is said to be neither Father nor Son, but only Holy Spirit; they had only called it a gift of God ('and we may believe that God did not bestow a gift inferior to Himself'); they had also been careful to teach that it was not begotten either of the Father or of the Son, and that it was not unbegotten, lest there should be two first principles.[2] Augustine was already dissatisfied with the inadequate definitions of the personality of the Spirit in earlier theology, and as

[1] *De Trin.*, i. 7. [2] *De Fide et Symbolo.*, xix.

he developed his doctrine of salvation, he found more reason for reconstructing it.

5. Augustine laid the foundations of his theology much deeper in personal experience than the Greeks had done. 'I desire to know God and the soul. Nothing more? Nothing at all.'[1] The soul he knew as guilty, lost, and impotent in the bondage of sin, and God he learnt to know as Supreme Good, personal Love, fountain of grace, and God of mercy. The Trinity he identified with this personal God, whose nature was love and whose operation was grace. He did not conceive God in the manner of the Greeks as genus or essence, of which the three hypostases were the species, but as one personal Being in whom the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are each equal to one another and to the whole Trinity. 'So great is the equality in that Trinity that not only is the Father not greater than the Son as regards divinity, but neither are the Father and the Son together greater than the Holy Spirit, nor is each single person, whichever of the three it be, anything less than the Trinity itself.'[2] The subordinate place assigned to the Spirit in all previous theology led Augustine frequently to emphasise its perfect equality with the Father and the Son, and with the whole Trinity. 'The Spirit of the Father and Son is sent from both, begotten of none, the unity of both, the equal of both. This Trinity is one God, omnipotent, invisible, King of the ages, creator of things visible and invisible.'[3] And as is the nature of the Trinity, so is its operation, one and inseparable. The gifts and operations of the inseparable Trinity are not separate.[4] There can be no indwelling of the Holy Spirit without the Father and Son, nor of the Father without the Son and Spirit.[5] 'Wherefore it is sometimes said of the Holy Spirit that He alone suffices for our blessedness; and He alone is sufficient because He cannot be separated from the Father and Son; so the Father alone is sufficient

[1] *Soliloq.*, i. 7. [2] *De Trin.*, viii. Praef.; cf. ii. 32, v. 9, vi. 9.
[3] *Serm.* ccxi. [4] *Ep.* cxciv. 12; *Serm.* lxxi. 26. [5] *Serm.* lxxi. 33.

because He cannot be separated from the Son and Holy Spirit, and the Son alone is sufficient because He cannot be separated from the Father and Holy Spirit.' [1] Thus Augustine excludes all subordination and all idea of separation, either in being or operation, from the Godhead; there is no greater and less, no cause and effect in the Trinity. He made this unity, equality, and consubstantiality of the three persons as complete and perfect as his theological language would allow him.

6. Yet he strove hard also to maintain a distinction of persons. 'It is not without significance that in this Trinity, none but the Son is called Word of God, none but the Holy Spirit the Gift of God, and none but God the Father is He from whom the Word is begotten and the Spirit principally proceeds.' [2] But although he frequently affirms the distinction of persons, he fails to give it any definite meaning in the eternal being of the Trinity. The names Father and Son imply a distinction and a relation, and if they had stood alone, he might have made the personal and moral relations of father and son into an essential distinction and relation within the Godhead, as in the Gospels it was made to express the empirical relation of Christ to God. But Augustine had to interpret in terms of love the Godhead in three equal persons, and for that purpose, the fatherly and filial consciousness in God and in Christ did not avail. Like Ambrose, he found the real distinction of the Son in the fact that He took the form of a servant,[3] but this was an empirical and temporary, rather than an essential and eternal, distinction. It was still more difficult to discover any differentiation of the Spirit. The name Holy Spirit was equally applicable to all three persons and to the whole Trinity, and although it is also used relatively of the Holy Spirit as third person, the relation does not appear in the name, but it is expressed rather in another title which Augustine frequently uses

[1] *De Trin.*, i. 18. [2] *De Trin.*, xv. 29; cf. iv. 29, v. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 22; cf. *supra*, p. 164.

of the Spirit—it is the Gift of God,[1] of both Father and Son, because it proceeds from both, and we can distinguish the Gift from the Giver and the Giver from the Gift. Inasmuch as it is the Gift of both Father and Son, it is an ineffable communion of both, and it is therefore not inappropriately called by the name Holy Spirit, which denotes and includes each person and the whole Trinity. But Augustine is keenly conscious of the inadequacy of the Trinitarian terminology to express the life of God. 'The Trinity is one God, alone, good, great, eternal, omnipotent, itself its own unity, deity, greatness, goodness, eternity, omnipotence.'[2] 'And when it is asked, What three? human speech labours under great poverty. Three persons is said, however, not to affirm it, but to avoid being silent.'[3] It is a mystery which the true faith (*i.e.* the traditional creed) proclaims when it says that the Father is not the Son, and that the Holy Spirit is neither Father nor Son, but it cannot be comprehended, because the supereminence of Deity transcends the power of customary speech. 'For God is more truly thought than expressed, and exists more truly than He is thought.'[4]

7. It seems clear that if Augustine had not found the Trinitarian theology in possession, and if his reverence for the authority of the Church had not compelled him to accept it without question, it was not the kind of system he would have constructed. In fact he has worked out an essentially different theory, wherein he construes the Godhead in terms of moral experience rather than of metaphysical abstractions. The material principle of that theology is the living, personal God, whose nature is the Supreme Good, and Love, and grace. Augustine loved the Trinity, not because it was three, but because it was God.[5] All the analogies by which he sought to explain the Trinity were derived from the personal consciousness of the individual. The chief of them was love,

[1] *De Trin.*, xv. 33. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 12. [3] *Ibid.*, v. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, vii. 7. [5] *Ibid.*, vi. 8, viii. 1, 2.

wherein are three things: he that loves, that which is loved, and love itself.[1] Again, the mind, and the love of itself, and the knowledge of itself, are three things and these three are one.[2] Another trinity in the human mind is that of memory, understanding, and will, which are not three lives or three minds or three substances, but one life, mind, and substance.[3] These and other similar analogies to the Trinity, which he derived from the human mind, meant for him more than mere illustrations; because man is made in the image of God, his nature reveals something of the life of God. But so far as they go, they suggest a modal rather than an essential Trinity. They are threefold aspects or elements in one person, rather than three persons. Augustine recognised their inadequacy,[4] but he employed them because they were the most adequate means he could discover to express his idea of God. And he made more use of the first, the trinity of love, than of all the others, and from this fact we may infer that, apart from the traditional formula, his personal faith led him to conceive God as being in some sense a society, possessing the conditions of love within its own life. And this was the idea which he developed into his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. For while God is love, and the Father and the Son and the whole Trinity is love, the Holy Spirit is in some special sense a communion of Father and Son,[5] 'a mutual love wherewith the Father and the Son mutually love each other.'[6]

8. This conception of the Holy Spirit, as being in a special sense the principle of love in the Godhead, was essentially related to Augustine's doctrine of grace. With some hesitation, he advances the argument that the Holy Spirit is the goodness of Father and Son, because it is the holiness of both, and the divine goodness is no other than the divine holiness.[7] Man's salvation is solely of the

[1] *De Trin.*, viii. 14-ix. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, ix. 4 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, x. 18.
[4] *Ibid.*, xv. 12 ff. [5] *Serm.* xxi. 18. [6] *De Trin.*, xv. 27 ff.
[7] *De Civ. Dei*, xi. 14.

goodness and free grace of God, 'and the grace of God is the gift of God, but the greatest gift is the Holy Spirit; therefore it is called grace.'[1] Through the Spirit and in the Spirit is therefore communicated to man the whole of his regenerate and blessed life. It works its will upon good and evil, learned and ignorant.[2] But it is saving grace only for those who receive it. As prevenient and operative grace, it works in man the faith that leads him to Christ,[3] and especially it mediates the forgiveness of sin.[4] It sanctifies and makes effectual the sacrament of the eucharist.[5] It is co-operating grace by whose aid man keeps from sin. All wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of God are only through the indwelling Spirit. No one has true virtue, pure love, and religious continence except through the Spirit of virtue, love, and continence.[6] Man can neither love God nor keep His commandments unless he has received the Holy Spirit.[7] It is often repeated that 'the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts,' not by law nor by free-will, but 'through the Holy Spirit which is given to us.'[8] We are sons of God, not by letter, but by the Spirit, not by command, threat, or promise of the law, but by the exhortation, illumination, and help of the Spirit. It only helps those who act with it, but without its help, man can do no good.[9] It is the bond of love, not only in the Trinity, but between God and man, and between man and man. 'God the Holy Spirit, who proceedeth from the Father, when He has been given to man, inflames him unto the love of God and his neighbour, for He is love.'[10] It operates, however, only within the Church which by love it creates, and outside the Catholic Church there is neither forgiveness, salvation, nor love, for there alone the Spirit of love dwells.[11] The whole spiritual

[1] *Serm.* cxliv. 1. [2] *Quaest. in Hept.*, vii. 49. [3] *Ep.* cxciv. 12.
[4] *Serm.* lxxi. 28 ff. [5] *De Trin.*, iii. 10. [6] *Ep.* cxciv. 15-18.
[7] *In Joan. Tract.*, lxxiv. [8] *De Sp. et lit.*, 5; *De gratia Christi*, i, 10.
[9] *Serm.* clvi. 11, 12. [10] *De Trin.*, xv. 31.
[11] *De Correct. Donat.*, 50; *De Bapt.*, 21; *Serm.* lxxi. 28-33.

society, divine and human, is fulfilled, united, completed, and circumscribed by the Holy Spirit.

Thus at last the Holy Spirit has been elevated to the supreme place, both in the unity of the Godhead and in the life of the Church. It is no longer a messenger of God, a duplicate Logos, sent from God to enlighten man, but it is the whole life, love, holiness, and power of the Deity, infused into the life of man to transform it into His own nature. Yet, not only did Augustine fail to give reality to the personal distinctions in the Trinity, but his realistic conception of grace, and of the Spirit as divine essence, force, or virtue, flowing out of the divine nature and infused into man's heart, tended to obscure the personality of God which was so real to his experience.

9. The radical difference between this doctrine and that of the Greek Fathers only became apparent when it was translated into the terms of Eastern theology. If Augustine was to speak of three persons in one essence, the necessity of logic and religion compelled him to predicate the same relation of the Spirit to the Son as it bore to the Father, or in traditional language, to declare that it proceeded from the Son as it did from the Father. It was only so that the complete equality and consubstantiality of the persons in the Godhead could be logically maintained, and the fulness of God be effectually communicated to man's religious experience. Even then the equality is not perfectly conceived unless each person were derived in identical manner from the other two. But Augustine had to work with such terms as he found current, and those implied that in some sense the Father was an origin in the Godhead, while they provided no category that would express a mutual and equal relation of the persons all round. The Son could not be derived from the Spirit as well as from the Father; nor could the Father be derived from the Son and Spirit, without abandoning the title of Father. Yet within those limits, logic demanded of him that 'as the Father and Son are one God . . . so

they are one beginning relatively to the Holy Spirit,'[1] and religion required that 'the common Gift should proceed' from Father and Son, and in such manner that 'the Holy Spirit should be the Spirit of both.'[2]

Nor did Augustine suppose that he was making an innovation. Hitherto, the Greek Fathers had never defined the precise relation of the Spirit to the Son. Athanasius had taught that the Spirit proceeded from the Father and received from the Son, but whether it received its eternal procession or its temporal mission was not clear. Basil's formula was that the Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son, but the latter phrase was also ambiguous, for it might mean, either that the Son was the medium of the communication of the Spirit to the world, or that He was the joint origin of its eternal procession. Ambrose had anticipated Augustine's deduction and taught that the Spirit proceeded from both Father and Son. The latter might well have thought therefore, as undoubtedly he did, that he was rendering explicit what was implicit in the Catholic faith.

10. Augustine's doctrine, as to its form at least, became the accepted doctrine in the West, and was embodied in the 'Athanasian' Creed, wherein the more Catholic side of his theology was reduced to the terms of the Cappadocian formula. Henceforth the West confessed a Trinity of one substance in three persons, distinct, co-equal, and co-eternal, and that 'the Holy Spirit was of the Father and Son, not made, nor created nor begotten, but proceeding.' The doctrine of *procession from both* seems to have been first embodied in a creed by a council held at Toledo, perhaps in 447, to oppose the revival of Sabellianism by the Priscillianists in Spain. At a later Council of Toledo held in 589, not only was the *procession from both* affirmed, but it appears that it had been already inserted in the version of the creed of Constantinople recited at the council. At a more representative council of the Western

[1] *De Trin.*, v. 15, iv. 29. [2] *Ibid.*, xv. 29.

empire, held at Arles in 813 under the authority of Charlemagne, the doctrine obtained more general and formal sanction.[1] But Rome, while accepting the doctrine, did not insert it in its own creed till the beginning of the eleventh century.

Meanwhile, the Eastern Church steadily opposed and condemned the innovation, and from the middle of the eleventh century, it has been the chief doctrinal cause of the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches. The controversy revealed the invincible Subordinationism of the Eastern conception of the Godhead, because the objection to the *procession from both* was, that it would endanger the deity of the Spirit, by removing it two grades from the Father, for all Eastern theologians, not excepting Athanasius, identified the Father with God in a unique and pre-eminent sense. Whereas, if the Son had been conceived as God equally with the Father, the deity of the Spirit would have involved its identical relation with Father and Son. This controversy also illustrated the difference between the Eastern and Western views of salvation. For the East, salvation was by revelation, and both Logos and Spirit as agents of revelation must needs come direct from the Father as the source of truth. But for the West, salvation was regeneration by an act of God in human experience, and to secure its efficacy, the whole Trinity must be equally present in the Spirit of grace.[2]

11. During the Middle Ages, Augustine's doctrine of grace, and of the Holy Spirit as its author, was so submerged by other factors, that all practical interest in the Spirit passed out of the consciousness of the Church. Semi-Pelagian legalism co-ordinated the works of man and of the Church with grace as conditions of salvation. The multiplication and exaltation of the sacraments made

[1] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. 705.
[2] Swete, *History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (1876); Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, chap. vi.

them into the sole means of the communication of grace. All revelation and knowledge of God were deposited in the priesthood, and particularly in its head, the Bishop of Rome. Communion with heaven was more and more concentrated in the adoration of Mary and of saints and angels. It was still held as a theoretical belief that the Holy Spirit acted behind and through the agents and acts of the Church, and it was invoked as the source of the dogma and authority of the hierarchy, but the lower agents occupied the whole field of men's vision and interest, so that the doctrine of the Spirit had no longer any ground in religious experience. On the other hand, Augustine's metaphysical Trinity, now divorced from its empirical ground, held the field in the region of dogma. When the scholastic doctors came to gather up, set forth, and defend the sum of Christian doctrine in a complete system, they elaborated Augustine's doctrine, by means of the Aristotelian dialectic, into a purely formal and abstract metaphysics of the Godhead, which bore no relation to religious experience.

12. This thesis may be illustrated from the greatest and most representative of the scholastics, *Thomas Aquinas*. Like Augustine, and like earlier scholastics such as Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus, he derived his doctrine of the Trinity from the analogy between the human mind and the divine nature, and identified the Holy Spirit with divine love. It is because the human intellect has 'some kind of participated likeness' to God, who is the first intellect, that man can know God at all.[1] And as there are processes and relations of intellect and will in the human mind, the process of intellect issuing in the intelligible word which proceeds from the speaker and yet abides in him, and the process of the will issuing likewise in love; so there are in God two processions, one of the intellect issuing in the Word, and this is properly called Generation,

[1] *Summa Theol.*, Pars i. Quaest. xii. 2, E. tr., by 'Fathers of the English Dominican Province' (1911-12).

because the proper act of the intellect is to beget and retain an object like unto itself; and the other of will issuing in Love, which procession has no special name of its own, but it is unlike generation, for it proceeds not to produce an object like itself, but rather by way of impulse and movement towards an object; 'it proceeds rather as Spirit, which name expresses a certain vital movement and impulse, accordingly as any one is described as moved or impelled by love to perform an action.' [1] By a similar dialectic, Thomas establishes the distinction of persons in the Godhead. Word and Spirit are relations subsisting in God and they are of God's essence; His essence as containing every perfection must be personal, and therefore these subsistent relations which are of the essence must also be personal. There can be no more than three persons, because within the intellectual nature there can only be the Intellect itself, the process of the intellect issuing in the Word, and the process of will issuing in Love, for the act of feeling which is another process of the intellectual nature takes place outside of it.[2]

The unity of essence and the equal deity of the three persons follow by the same reasoning. The relations in God which constitute the persons are of the divine essence, and each person is therefore of divine essence. In fact, the relations in God are the divine essence, and essence is not really different from person, although the persons as relations are distinct from one another.[3] They are also equal to one another, for according to Aristotle, 'equality signifies the negation of greater and less,' and since we cannot admit greater or less in God, complete equality obtains in the divine nature; each person is equal to each and to the whole Trinity.[4] The procession of the Spirit from both Father and Son might therefore have been inferred from the equality, but Thomas finds it necessary rather to derive it from the distinction

[1] *Summa Theol.*, i. Q. xxvii. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. Q. xxix.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. Q. xxxix. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. Q. xlii. 1.

of persons. For unless the Spirit were derived from the Son as well as from the Father, it could not be distinguished from the Son. Since the personality of each consists in relation, if Son and Spirit were only related to the Father, the relations, and therefore the persons, would be identical.[1]

In this way Thomas establishes by a process of formal logic the unity of essence and the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, the procession of the Spirit as Love from Father and Son, its essential deity and its co-equality with Father and Son. By the same method he establishes a variety of other related points. He states the objections to the doctrine of the Trinity with great cogency, and refutes them with dialectical arguments whose premises are derived arbitrarily from Scripture, from the Fathers, from Boethius and Peter Lombard, or from Aristotle, as the exigencies of his argument demanded. But the crucial defect of the whole system is not so much the inadequacy of the psychology which it presupposes, nor the weakness of this or that piece of reasoning, but that the whole construction is built in the air, a theory of empty forms and naked abstractions, having no point of contact with religious experience, or with any concrete experience at all. The Holy Spirit is scarcely assigned its traditional spheres of operation. Aquinas treats the whole subject of revelation without referring to the Spirit.[2] Even in the doctrine of grace, where especially Augustine made the Spirit as love effective in human experience, Thomas teaches 'that grace is caused instrumentally through the sacraments, but principally through the power of the Holy Spirit,'[3] which is to say that theoretically the Spirit, but actually the sacraments, communicate grace to man. He states categorically that the relations in God which constitute the Trinity 'can be understood only in regard to those actions according to which there are internal and not external processions in God.'[4] The procession of the

[1] *Summa Theol.*, i. Q. xxxvi. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. Q. i.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. Q. cxii. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. Q. xxviii. 4.

Holy Spirit therefore, like the whole doctrine of the Trinity, has significance only within the Godhead, and bears no relation to human experience. And yet, in reference to God, its significance is only relative. Answering the objection that three persons cannot be in one essence, he states that 'divine things are named by our intellect, not as they really are, but in a way that belongs to created things,'[1] and similarly, plurality or number when applied to God 'is only our way of understanding.'[2] The doctrine therefore represents neither reality in God nor experience in man, but it afforded satisfaction to the logical necessities of Mediæval thought, when that was no longer permitted to exercise its function freely in the field of religion.

13. At the Reformation, all parties except the Socinians accepted the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Holy Spirit in their traditional Augustinian form. They were the part of the ancient dogma which underwent least revision. While interest in the work of the Spirit was quickened, and different views concerning it emerged, Romanists, Lutherans, and Calvinists continued to state the doctrine of the nature and person of the Spirit in its ancient form, with very little variation.

The re-statement of doctrine by the Roman Church at the Council of Trent follows most closely the Augustinian doctrine as it had been elaborated in the Middle Ages.[3] In the Trinity, the third person has no peculiar name of its own, but is called by the common name 'Holy Spirit,' which fits it well because it infuses into us spiritual life, and we can do nothing worthy of eternal life without its inspiration. It is God equally with the Father and Son, almighty, eternal, of infinite perfection, supremely good and wise. It proceeds eternally from Father and Son as from one principle. And although the operations of the Trinity outwards are common to the three persons, many of them are properly attributed to the Holy Spirit, especially

[1] *Summa Theol.*, i. Q. xxxix. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, i. Q. xxx. 1.
[3] *Catech. Concil. Trident.*, Pars i. Cap. ii. Quaest. x.

those of the divine love, for the Holy Spirit proceeds from the divine will as love on fire.[1] In particular, the council claimed the authority of the Spirit for its own acts; it was assembled in the Holy Spirit. It derived its teaching from written books and unwritten traditions dictated by the Holy Spirit.[2] The illumination of the Spirit works the prevenient and co-operating grace by which the sinner is turned to God, and afterwards through the Spirit, God sanctifies the converted soul and imparts to it inherent righteousness.[3] The issues raised by the Protestants forced the council to bring the metaphysics of Aquinas again into some relation with the life of the Church, but for the mass of believers, the agency of the Spirit was still mediated by the authority of the priesthood in the realm of revelation, and by the efficacy of the sacraments, *opere operato*, in the communication of grace.

14. In regard to the nature and person of the Spirit in the Trinity, both Luther and Melanchthon expressed some doubt as to the adequacy of the traditional formula,[4] but the chief Protestant confessions of faith reveal no development, and very little variety.[5] The Calvinist confessions are somewhat fuller, but not essentially different, though some of them contain a characteristic variation; instead of defining the Spirit as love like Augustine and his followers, they describe it as the 'power, might, and efficacy' of God, thus reverting to more Scriptural terms, which also agreed better with the Protestant teaching of its work.[6]

15. From the early years of the Reformation, certain sects carried their protest against the Catholic system further than the leading reformers were willing to go,

[1] *Catech. Concil. Trident.*, i. Cap. ix. Q. iii.-viii.
[2] *Canones et Decreta Concil. Trident.*, Sessio iii. and iv.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sessio vi. Cap. v. and vii.
[4] Dorner, *History of Protestant Theology*, E. tr., i. pp. 195-96.
[5] *Conf. August.*, Pars i. Art. i.; *Thirty-Nine Articles*, Art. v.
[6] Schaff, *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches: Conf. Belgica*, pp. 389, 394; *Conf. Fid. Gallic.*, p. 363; *Conf. Fid. Scot.*, pp. 439, 450; *Conf. Helvet. Post.*, pp. 240-41, etc.

and among other things, some of them rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity,[1] because its metaphysical paradoxes were offensive to a thoroughgoing rationalism, and because its affirmation of three Gods seemed to be no less a part of Roman idolatry than the adoration of the mass or of images. They reverted either to the Arian or to the Adoptionist doctrine, and held either that the Son and Spirit were subordinate deities, or that Christ was a mere man, and the Spirit an impersonal power of God. The latter form of doctrine was worked into a Unitarian system by Faustus Socinus, and became permanently current under his name.

It was argued that there is only one God, for no more beings than one can have supreme dominion over all things. In the essence of God there can be but one person, for the essence is one not in kind but in number. Wherefore it cannot possibly contain a plurality of persons, for a person is nothing else than an intelligent individual essence.[2] The Holy Spirit is therefore a power or efficacy flowing from God unto men, a divine inspiration which fills men with knowledge, hope, and joy in things eternal. But it is not a person, because many things are said about it in Scripture which are not applicable to a person, and moreover, since God is numerically one, there cannot be another person in the Godhead.[3] Such was the antithesis of pure rationalism to the catholic dogma; but Aquinas, who was both rationalist and Catholic unequally yoked together, had exposed the difficulties of Trinitarian metaphysics much more forcibly than the Socinians. At bottom the Socinian and the Scholastic systems had more affinity with one another than Protestantism had with either. Both rationalism and Catholicism removed the living God out of all personal contact with human experience. Both were equally 'deistic' in their

[1] *Epit. Form. Concord.*, ad fin.; Rees, *The Racovian Catech.*, Historical Intro.; Dorner, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 189-95.
[2] *Catech. Eccl. Polon.* (1580), (*The Racovian Catech.*), Sect. iii. Cap. i.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sect. vi. Cap. vi. (E. tr., Sect. v. Cap vi.).

conception of the relation between God and the world. Catholicism would bridge the gulf with elements derived from the religious stock of mankind, with priesthood and sacraments. Socinianism refused all aid outside the intellect, and interposed the impersonal power or principle which it called the Holy Spirit. The Protestants tried to realise the presence of the living God on the basis of the ancient doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Holy Spirit as God present and efficacious in the world.

CHAPTER IX

THE GRACE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

1. At the Reformation, the religious consciousness turned in upon itself with more penetrating gaze than it had done since the days of Paul. In this respect indeed the Reformers were not without their forerunners, such as the reforming movements of Wiclif and Hus; the cultivation of personal piety by a succession of mystics from the school of St. Victor to Tauler and the author of the *Theologia Germanica*; and the revolt of reason against the tyranny of the Church in the Humanist movement. But none of these sought to establish the whole fabric of religion, social and individual, on the personal experience of relation with God, and none of them repudiated the external authority of the Church, as the Reformers did. None of them developed the idea of the Holy Spirit beyond the traditional teaching of the Church, nor did they associate it especially with their own peculiar aims. The Humanists turned away from religion to external nature. The renovating ideal of the 'Reformers before the Reformation' was the historical Christ, with His example and teaching of poverty and righteousness.[1]

2. The Mystics were orthodox Catholics, who therefore found in the mystery of the Trinity a symbolism of the one God and of all reality, but it was the incarnate Son who stood out most clearly in their visions and contemplations. 'Most of them, from Paul downwards, somehow identify that Transcendent Personality of whom they are

[1] Noesgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-11.

directly conscious with the "exalted Christ."'[1] Their conception and experience of the way of deliverance and beatitude are well expressed in the familiar titles, *The Following of Christ* (? Tauler) and *The Imitation of Christ* (à Kempis), referring not to the moral example of the historical Christ, but to the inner following and union of the soul with the heavenly Bridegroom. When the practice of the Church did assert itself, and the Mystics occasionally referred to the Holy Spirit, they employed the language and thought of Augustine. It is the love that flows out of God and which is infused into the hearts of men. 'The love wherewith we love is the Holy Spirit.'[2] 'The Holy Ghost is the love from which the will loveth'[3]: 'so that it seems as if the Holy Spirit Himself were the man's will and love, and he were nothing and willed nothing on his own account.'[4] As Mysticism vacillates between pure objectivism and pure subjectivism, between contemplation and dreaming, it had little room for the Holy Spirit as personal God in relation to man, at once transcending and inhabiting his soul, and the idea of it as working conviction, conversion, and sanctification through a moral struggle was alien to the mystic way of thinking.[5]

3. When *Luther* realised, in his cell at Wittenberg, that salvation meant reconciliation and peace with God, through personal faith in Jesus Christ, he penetrated into a new territory of religious experience, which it has been the task of theology and philosophy ever since to explore and to occupy. It became impossible for religious thought ever again to dwell at ease in the naïve objectivism of Mediæval theology—to think of the Godhead as abstract substance modified by logical relations, of communion with God as a realistic infusion of impersonal influence or of the religious

[1] Evelyn Underhill, *The Mystic Way*, p. 234; see p. 233, n. 1. Cf. *Mysticism*, pp. 128-48, 411.
[2] Eckhart, quoted by Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 140.
[3] *Following of Christ*, ii. 81.
[4] Tauler, *The Inner Way*, Serm. iv.
[5] Herrmann, *Communion with God*, E. tr., pp. 17-45.

life as *opus operatum* worked mechanically by the appointed means of grace. Sin and wrath, guilt and fear, forgiveness and peace, bondage and liberty, faith, hope and love, all vivid, intense, and urgent, took possession of men's souls. Catholics no less than Protestants turned their attention to the states and acts of the inner life, and inquired into the renewed claim of personal experience to be the arbiter of truth and destiny. The Roman Catholic Church denied the claim, and rehabilitated the objective system, after cleansing it of its dead and rotten excrescences; its theologians fortified the Church, the priesthood, and the sacraments in their position of authority over the individual, and as the immediate agents of grace, through which alone the Holy Spirit could communicate to men truth, holiness, and all blessings. A Semi-Pelagian doctrine of man interposed free will and good works as a further co-operating condition of salvation. It is only admitting the claim of the Roman Catholic Church, that it is *semper eadem*, unchanging and unchangeable, to say that its doctrine of the Holy Spirit and its operations remained what it was in the Middle Ages.

4. Nor did the Protestants succeed at once and altogether to shake off the dead weight of Mediævalism. Remnants of the old doctrines of sacramental grace, ecclesiastical authority, and metaphysical dogma adhered to the fringes of their religious consciousness and teaching, and in addition, the letter of the Bible, with dogmatic definitions based upon it, came to take the place of Pope and council. The leading Reformers were only less hostile to all professions of prophecy and revelation in their time than they were to the Pope. They were further hindered in interpreting the facts of the inner life, because they were entangled in Mediæval metaphysics, and they had to express the conscious life in such abstract terms as nature, substance, and accidents, because they had neither the methods nor the categories of introspection to assist their labours.

But when all the limitations that the old world imposed

upon the new are admitted, it remains true that the Protestant Reformers led the life of the Spirit into larger liberty and more vigorous self-realisation, and strove to interpret that life as it bore witness to itself in their own experiences. They stirred up spiritual forces which travelled far beyond their control. Several currents which flowed from the Reformation have borne the idea of the Holy Spirit into wider, deeper, and more intimate relations with human life. Protestant theology developed more systematically than hitherto the doctrine of the work of the Spirit. Mystical trends in religion have been more definitely associated with its operation. Religious revivals have reinstated the charismatic phenomena of the Spirit. And philosophy has both initiated new speculations about its person and brought the phenomena attributed to its action within the range of psychological study.

5. When the Reformers looked into themselves to discover and interpret the way of salvation, they realised first that it was entirely the work of God, a supernatural fact to which they themselves contributed nothing, one which entered into them from above, possessed them, and transformed them to its own principle and purpose. Justification, forgiveness, and peace with God were by faith only, and faith was the work of prevenient grace, even as the whole regenerate and sanctified life was afterwards altogether the work of grace. To the agent of this supernatural grace they gave the name Holy Spirit. It was no new name or idea. Both in the Bible and in the Church's teaching the work of illumination, regeneration, and sanctification had been attributed to the Spirit. The Reformers gave new reality to old ideas that had passed into disuse, and they gave them a more definite and fixed form. The Spirit became specifically the term for God in His personal relation with man. But with the Reformers this came about only gradually. Luther in his early writings has little to say about the Spirit. Christ was the central object of his first theology, but as his mind

was released from the realistic conception of grace as a quality infused into the soul (*gratia infusa*), the Spirit which created the new life as a personal relation with God became more prominent.

6. All parties at the Reformation were agreed that the Bible had been inspired by the Holy Spirit, but while Catholics subordinated the Bible to the Church, through which the Holy Spirit communicated both written and unwritten revelation, and the radical sects subordinated Scripture to the present revelation of the Spirit, the Protestants co-ordinated the witness of the Spirit in Scripture with its present witness in men's hearts as one undivided means of revelation and of all grace.

The German Reformers expounded no theory of inspiration, beyond that the Scriptures were inspired by the Holy Spirit, and that as such they were the word of God; not that they were the whole word of God, nor all equally the word of God, but that in them God spoke clearly, for, said Luther, 'the Holy Spirit is the most clear and simple writer there is in heaven or earth'; the book of Genesis he called 'the fountain from which, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, all the later prophets flowed'; and 'the prophets studied Moses, and the later prophets studied the earlier ones, and wrote down in a book their thoughts inspired by the Holy Spirit.' For Luther, inspiration was no mechanical process; the books of Scripture vary in spiritual significance, and they communicate the truth not in external fashion, but only where faith in Christ, worked by the Holy Spirit, appropriates it. The word and the Spirit mutually condition each other's dispensation. 'The gospel bringeth the Holy Spirit, because it teacheth what we ought to receive.' [1]

7. *Calvin's* teaching is similar but more precise. In the Scriptures alone has God preserved a perpetual memorial of His truth, and their authority is no less than if God were

[1] Luther on *Gal.* iii. 2; Dorner, *History of Prot. Theol.*, E. tr., i. pp. 241-57.

heard speaking them out of heaven.[1] For proof of their truth, Calvin advances apologetic reasons which he considers convincing as far as reason can apprehend the matter, but the only infallible evidence is the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit. 'The same Spirit which spake through the mouth of the prophets, must enter our hearts to convince us that they faithfully delivered that which was divinely entrusted to them.'[2] Scripture suffices to give a saving knowledge of God, only when its certainty has been established by the inner persuasion of the Holy Spirit.[3] Like Luther, Calvin strongly repudiates the Anabaptists' teaching, that the inward revelation of the Spirit was superior to Scripture or a substitute for it. The word is the instrument by which the Lord bestows illumination on the faithful.[4] Calvin establishes therefore a complete correspondence between the inspired word without and the illuminating Spirit within. And although he recognised that the individuality of the sacred writers was preserved, he did not infer that they had different degrees of inspiration. It is assumed that the written word and the testimony of the Spirit agree throughout. Hence it was only a short step to the later Protestant doctrine of the objective infallibility of Scripture, and of the inspiration of every word and letter, even to the vowel points of the Hebrew Bible.[5] This doctrine in effect superseded the testimony of the Holy Spirit, for where the letter was infallible, the Spirit was superfluous, except perhaps as a power to apply the truth contained in the word.[6]

8. When the Reformers first turned to the Bible for the truth of religion, they discovered not only its inspiration by the Spirit, but still more its witness to the operation of the Spirit over the whole field of religious experience. As they derived the whole regenerate life from the free grace of God, they postulated the Holy Spirit as the

[1] *Institutio*, vii. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, vii. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, viii. 13.
[4] *Ibid.*, ix. 3. [5] Hase, *Hutterus Redivivus*, § 44.
[6] Denio, *The Supreme Leader*, pp. 85-88.

personal agent of that grace in the heart, more specifically and uniformly than either Biblical or ecclesiastical writers had hitherto done.

The first moment of salvation proceeded from God's eternal decree of predestination and election, through the atoning death of Christ; but its application to human souls began with the act of faith, which was the joint product of hearing the word and the internal action of the Spirit.[1] The obverse side of faith is justification, which is also a work of the Spirit, wherein it gives the believer assurance that he is a child of God, born again into God's favour and into a life of holiness. From the sending of the Spirit 'we receive an inward fervency and light, whereby we are changed and become new creatures, whereby also we receive a new judgment, a new feeling, and a new moving'; these are not a work of reason or of the power of man, 'but the gift and operation of the Holy Spirit.' The outward signs of having the Spirit are 'gladly to hear of Christ, to preach and teach Christ, to render thanks unto Him, to praise Him, to confess Him, yea with the loss of goods and life; and to do our duty according to our vocation, as we are able.'[2] The Spirit continues the work of sanctification on man as long as he lives, working through the word, the Church, and the sacraments. 'For now we are only in part pure and holy, so that the Holy Spirit is continually at work with us by means of the word of God, and daily bestowing forgiveness on us. . . . He carries on His work without intermission till the last day, for which purpose He appoints a community on earth through which he speaks and accomplishes all things.'[3] Calvin's teaching on these points agrees essentially with that of Luther. The Holy Spirit unites with the word to produce faith in Christ. It is the bond by which Christ effectually binds us to Himself. It is the witness of our adoption, the seal on our hearts of God's

[1] Dorner, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 167, 251.
[2] Luther on *Gal.* iv. 5.
[3] *The Greater Catech.*, II. iii.

free promise of salvation. It increases our faith, leads us to perfection, and conducts us to the Kingdom of God.[1] It forms us anew to holiness and righteousness of life.[2] Through its agency alone do the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments avail for man's salvation.[3]

9. Luther and Calvin also agreed in denying the freedom of the human will because they attributed man's salvation to grace alone, working through the Holy Spirit. 'As the will is held in the bondage of sin, it cannot move itself to any goodness, far less steadily pursue it, for every such movement is the beginning of conversion to God, which in Scripture is attributed entirely to the grace of God.' And after conversion, 'whatever is good in the will is entirely the work of grace,' so that 'from its beginning to its end God is the author of the spiritual life.'[4] Free will was denied, both in order to cut the ground from underneath the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works and merit, with the attendant scandals of the indulgences, which had been reared upon the Semi-Pelagian theory; and in order to establish the assurance of salvation for the elect, for if salvation depended upon human will, the issue would always be uncertain, but the Holy Spirit could not fail.

In its aversion from the Catholic degradation of the spiritual life into mechanical acts of the Church, Protestantism was in danger of overbalancing to the opposite extreme, of making the work of grace and the experience of the Spirit unreal and illusory, for man can have no experience which he does not actively appropriate. The logic of this system tended to force the whole work of grace back upon the eternal decree of God, and so to make the work of the Spirit, in man and in the world, but a theatrical display of that which had been determined and done from all eternity. The difficulty of reconciling sovereign grace with a real moral experience left a cleavage in the system which led to the Synergistic and Arminian controversies.

[1] *Institutio*, III. i. and ii. [2] *Ibid.*, III. ix. [3] *Ibid.*, III. iv.
[4] *Ibid.*, II. iii. 5, 6; cf. Dorner, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 202-20.

10. *Melanchthon* in his later writings departed from Luther's teaching so far as to affirm three co-operating agents in man's regeneration, 'the word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the assenting human will which rejects not the word of God.' After him, *Pfeffinger* and *Strigel* developed this view into the doctrine of *Synergism*, that the natural human will is not only a co-operating, but, according to Strigel, a determining agent with the Holy Spirit in conversion and salvation. *The Formula of Concord* (1576) was drawn up to define the doctrine of the Lutheran Church on these and other points. It claims, on the whole justly, to represent Luther's teaching. On the one hand, it repudiates the Manichaean errors which made original sin a matter of nature and necessity, a view attributed to Flacius, Strigel's antagonist; and on the other hand, it condemns the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian doctrines, that man can wholly or partly effect his own salvation, and also the Synergistic teaching, that although unregenerate man can neither convert himself nor do the will of God, yet after the Holy Spirit, by the preaching of the word of God, has begun the work, man can to some extent, by his own natural powers, co-operate in his own conversion and regeneration. The Formula teaches, on the contrary, that there are only two efficient causes of conversion, the Holy Spirit, and the Word of God as its instrument; without the Spirit nothing avails. In conversion the Spirit draws the resisting and unwilling to be willing; but after conversion, the will of man is not idle, but co-operates in all the works of the Holy Spirit which it effects in us, and bears its fruits in good works, which are a testimony that the Holy Spirit dwells in us. Yet the beginning, growth, and perfection of salvation is the gracious work of the Holy Spirit, which, however, works not without outward means, as the Anabaptists held, but through the agency of word and sacrament.[1]

[1] *Epitome F. C.* in Schaff, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-135; cf. Dorner, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 370-83.

11. The logical rigour with which the Calvinists developed the doctrines of total depravity, predestination, and sovereign grace, produced in the Reformed Church the deeper and more permanent cleavage of Arminianism. But the divergence on the doctrine of the Spirit was not of the essence of the conflict. For Armin and most of his followers in their way attached as much importance to the work of the Spirit as the Calvinists did. In his *Declaration* (1608), Armin stated that 'in his lapsed and sinful state man is not capable, of and by himself, either to think, to will, or to do that which is really good, but it is necessary for him to be regenerated and renewed in his intellect, affections or will, and in all his powers, by God in Christ through the Holy Spirit, that he may be qualified rightly to understand, esteem, consider, will, and perform whatever is truly good. . . . The grace of God is an *infusion* (both into the human understanding and into the will and affections) of all those gifts of the Holy Spirit which appertain to the regeneration and renewing of man. . . . It is that perpetual assistance and continued aid of the Holy Spirit, according to which He acts upon and excites to good the man who has been already renewed, by infusing into him salutary cogitations, and by inspiring him with good desires, that he may thus actually will whatever is good; and according to which God may then will and work together with man, that man may perform whatever he wills.'[1] These were the chief points of controversy: (*a*) the Calvinists inferred from the decree of election that grace was irresistible, for God, by an effectual call, softens the hearts of the elect, however obstinate, and inclines them to believe; but Armin argued from experience that men actually do resist the Holy Spirit; (*b*) while Calvinists denied all freedom and efficacy to the natural human will, Armin held that the Holy Spirit so healed and strengthened the human will and faculties that after regeneration they co-operated with it; (*c*) the Calvinists

[1] *The Works of Arminius*, E. tr. (1825), vol. i. pp. 595-600.

derived the perseverance of the elect logically from the decree of election, but Armin substituted for it the inward witness of the Holy Spirit and the fruits of faith, which give assurance to the true believer that he is a son of God, and he admitted that the regenerate might fall from grace. The Calvinists exalted the Spirit and the grace of God at the cost of suppressing human nature, but Armin discovered their efficacy and glory in a renovated and real human experience. Both systems proved to be liable to such perversions as practically excluded any operation of the Spirit, Calvinism into an abstract and formal dogmatism, and Arminianism into a shallow and barren rationalism. But that both systems also held a large capacity for the work of the Spirit, was strikingly demonstrated in the history of English religion and thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

12. English Puritanism was a complex phenomenon. While it tended on the one side to a rigid adherence to the letter of Scripture and the dogmas of Calvinism, it issued on the other side in almost every degree and form of the manifestation of the Spirit. And a middle school, represented by such men as John Owen, Thomas and John Goodwin, John Howe, and Richard Baxter bestowed upon the work of the Spirit the most elaborate exposition it has ever received. Two points in the Protestant doctrine that received complete treatment for the first time by the Puritans were: (*a*) the nature of regeneration in relation to sanctification, and (*b*) the delimitation of the distinct functions of the persons in the Trinity, in the work of human salvation.

13. Owen's *Pneumatologia* includes, besides his *Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit*, five related treatises which were published at different times from 1675 to 1693. And although his complete plan 'of representing the whole economy of the Holy Spirit, with all His adjuncts, operations, and effects,' was never finished, his work constitutes the most elaborate, comprehensive, and

systematic discussion of the subject in existence. Owen's aim was both to correct the enthusiasm of the extreme sects by appeal to Scripture, and to refute the rationalism and rebuke the indifferentism of Socinians and Deists, by proving the deity of the Spirit and demonstrating the supernatural work of grace. But his treatment would only be convincing to those who like himself admitted the authority of Scripture.

His doctrine as a whole is orthodox Calvinism. 'The Spirit of God is the author and worker of all grace in us . . . of all that is spiritually good in us.' [1] He analyses the processes of regeneration and sanctification with fresh vigour and fulness. Hitherto Protestant theology had concentrated on showing that the initial acts of salvation, conversion and faith, were the work of the Spirit, in opposition to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the efficacy of works and sacraments, and it had been content to draw, without elaborating, the inference that the regenerate and sanctified life proceeded from the same source. The Puritans, in opposition to the extremes of rationalism and enthusiasm, laid chief stress on the work of the Spirit in regeneration and sanctification. Regeneration is a definite gift of new life, an infusion of a new, real, spiritual principle into the soul and its faculties, a principle of spiritual life, light, holiness, and righteousness, which destroys all sin and enmity against God, and endows the soul with the capacity for obedience and holiness. It is therefore distinct from and antecedent to the sanctification of life. It is one definite act of grace which admits neither of uncertainty nor of degrees. It is or it is not. As all men are by nature equally unregenerate, so are they by grace equally born of God. Men may be more or less holy, more or less sanctified, but they cannot be more or less regenerate. As justification establishes once for all a new and permanent relation with God, so regeneration is the endowment once for all with the permanent principle of the new life. Then out of this new

[1] *The Works of John Owen* (1852), vol. iii. p. 203.

life alone can the sanctified life issue as its fruit. It is not itself reformation of life or moral virtue, but the supernatural source in man from which these are produced. It does not issue *ex opere operato*, from baptism and penance, as Rome taught, nor does it consist in natural morality as the Socinians, and, to some extent, the Arminians held; nor again is it in whole or in part the raptures, visions, ecstasies, and enthusiasms which Quakers and Anabaptists imagined; but it is the effect of the power of the Spirit of God on the souls of men, worked through His word in law and gospel.[1]

14. Owen also defined systematically the distinct functions of each person in the Trinity. Neither in the New Testament nor in patristic theology had logic ventured so far. In Protestant theology, a delimitation of operations was gradually forming which Owen put into clear definitions. Absolutely, the external operations of the Trinity are undivided. There is no 'division of labour' in the external operations of God; because the divine nature is one, its operations are also one. Yet certain operations are ascribed eminently to the Holy Spirit on account of the order of His subsistence in the Trinity, as He is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. Whence in every divine act, the authority of the Father, the love and wisdom of the Son, with the immediate efficacy and power of the Holy Ghost are to be considered. The Father designs salvation, the Son purchases it, and the Holy Spirit applies and accomplishes it, to make it effectual in us.[2] The Son's work, after His ascension, is carried on in heaven, and the Spirit is His vicar on earth, who both represents His person and supplies His place, and also works and effects whatever the Lord Christ has taken upon Himself to effect towards His disciples.[3] By the workings of the Spirit alone are the love of the Father and the fruits of the mediation of the Son communicated to us, and without the Spirit we have no interest in the acts of the

[1] *The Works of John Owen*, vol. iii. pp. 215, 218-19, 225.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 158, 162.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 193-95.

Father and the Son, nor could we return obedience to God.[1]

Thus at last was the Trinitarian formula logically applied in the field of religious experience. But its difficulty is thereby rather increased than lessened. For how is the absolute working of God as One to be reconciled with the eminent or special working of each person? The paradox of that which is both one and three passes from metaphysics to the field of experience, where the same operation is said to be both one and three, or even four—the absolute operation of God, and the special operation of each person. As Augustine equated the whole Trinity with each person, so Owen equates the operation of the whole Trinity with that of the Spirit, and therefore tends, like Augustine, to make the distinction unreal. But if it is real, and in so far as it is real, the Father and the Son are withdrawn from Christian experience, where they act only indirectly through their vicar, the Spirit.

15. *Thomas Goodwin* wrote his book, *Of the Work of the Holy Ghost in our Salvation*, to correct 'a general omission in the saints of God,' the neglect of the Spirit and its works, 'insomuch that we have in our hearts almost lost the third person.'[2] His purpose therefore was more practical, and the range of his speculation and analysis was more limited, than those of his greater contemporary.

His general doctrinal standpoint is, like Owen's, Calvinistic, and he gives a similar definition of the distinct functions of the persons in the Godhead. 'Election is appropriated to the Father, redemption to the Son, application to the Holy Ghost.'[3] God the Father's part was to contrive the whole of our salvation, Christ's part was to purchase it, and the communication of it in conversion, faith, regeneration, and sanctification is the work of the Spirit, and is effected entirely by the free grace of

[1] *The Works of John Owen*, vol. iii. p. 200.
[2] *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (1863), vol. vi. p. 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 47.

the Spirit. He agrees with Owen also in regarding regeneration as the permanent endowment of man with a new nature. Besides the Holy Spirit's dwelling in us, and His motions and actings of our spirits, there are permanent or abiding principles wrought in our souls which dispose them for holy action, and give spiritual abilities for the performance of them. Yet it is not to be understood in the mystical sense, that man is thus transubstantiated into the divine nature.

16. *John Goodwin* was a resolute defender of the Arminian theology, and in his book entitled *A Being Filled with the Spirit* (1670)[1] he dealt very elaborately with the needs, conditions and results of man's obtaining the fulness of the Holy Spirit. Since men can neither honour God nor serve mankind without the Spirit, God has graciously decreed that they may be filled with the Spirit in varying degrees, if they endeavour to fulfil the conditions of receiving it, which are, to covet it, to use it, to sow such works as will praise it, to remove the offences of flesh and sin against it, and to pray God for it. The man thus filled with the Spirit is thereby delivered from the dominance of lusts, evil dispositions and evil influences, and his natural powers are enhanced and raised above themselves, and he acquires the manifest signs of the fulness of the Spirit; concern about the things of God rather than of himself; command over his own spirit; self-mortification; holiness; godliness; heavenly-mindedness; sowing to the Spirit a harvest of honour; ability and willingness to take up the cross for God's sake; and acquaintance with the mind and will of God and of Jesus Christ in the scriptures.

The chief historical interest of Goodwin's treatise is, that it represents the position of an Arminian Puritan, who, while dissenting from the dominant Calvinism of his own circle, resisted the trend towards Arianism and rationalism which had then developed in English Arminian-

[1] Πλήρωμα τὸ Πνευματικόν, *or A Being filled with the Spirit* (republished 1867).

ism. He combats the idea that the Spirit was a creature or subordinate deity, and affirms its true and complete deity, even that it was the very Jehovah; and although he argues for the distinction of persons in the traditional way, he does not define a distinction of operations corresponding to the three persons. His opposition to Arianism all but recoils into Sabellianism.[1] Yet, while with the Calvinists he emphasises the Godhead of the Spirit, and the unconditional sovereignty and freedom of its operation, he maintained that 'He is a voluntary agent, and so can exert or put forth His omnipotency in what degree or manner of efficacy Himself pleaseth. . . . The Spirit of God is not pleased to work, either compulsively or necessitatingly, upon the hearts and wills of men, but only so as to leave them at liberty.'[2] The free grace of the Spirit involves the free will of man. 'Let us therefore comfort ourselves over the gracious advice and exhortation given unto us by God "of being filled with the Spirit"; and know, that though it be an estate or privilege very high and glorious, . . . yet it lieth within the reach of our faithful and zealous endeavour for the obtaining it.'[3]

17. Arminianism found its most congenial home in England in Anglican theology, in Quaker mysticism, and in the preaching of the Wesleyan revival. The first generation of Anglican Reformers were Calvinists. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion are moderately Calvinist, and so is the theology of Hooker. But all the great Anglican divines of the Stuart period from Laud downward were Arminians.[4] Anglican theology, undecided whether it would be Greek or Latin, whether it would make the person of Christ or the doctrine of the Church into its material principle, has never devoted much attention to the doctrine of the Spirit, nor contributed greatly to its study.[5] Archdeacon Hare wrote of the Stuart period,

[1] *Op. cit.*, chaps. vii. viii. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 256. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 320.
[4] Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine*, Pt. III. chap. viii.
[5] At present Professor Swete is a notable exception.

that 'many divines of this age were indeed led by their dislike of the Puritans and the Sectaries to look with jealousy and disfavour on all assertions of spiritual influences.' He makes exceptions of Bull, Pearson, and Barrow. Pearson, in his *Exposition* of the eighth article of the creed, gives a concise statement of the catholic doctrine of the person of the Spirit, but his treatment of its work is both slight and vague. On Anglican theology in the eighteenth century, Hare quotes with approval a saying of Coleridge, that 'the holy festival of Whitsunday almost became unmeaning, as the clergy had become generally Arminian, and interpreted the descent of the Spirit as the gift of miracles and of miraculous infallibility by inspiration.'[1] But there is no necessary affinity between Arminianism and the neglect of the Spirit.

18. *Robert Barclay*, the theologian of 'the people, in scorn, called Quakers,' in his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1675), with the aid of Arminian ideas, developed the mysticism and enthusiasm of George Fox into the most liberal and benevolent system of theology yet known in the seventeenth century. All men are fallen, dead, and deprived of the inward testimony or *seed* of religion, not however by original and propagated sin, but by personal transgression. Men therefore have no natural light of religion within them, and the grace of God is indispensable to salvation. And inasmuch as God loves all men, and Christ died for all men, grace and salvation are offered to all men, even where the preaching of the gospel is unknown. The principal means of universal grace is the divine light or the inward revelation of the Spirit of God, which is offered to all men everywhere, and given to those who do not resist it. From the inner revelations of the Spirit to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures of truth, and the Spirit and the Bible cannot therefore contradict each other. But as the inward light is the source of knowledge, it is alone sufficient for salvation, and it always takes precedence

[1] J. C. Hare, *The Mission of the Comforter*[3] (1876), Note H, pp. 246-68.

over Scripture and right reason. It is the sole authority of ministers and evangelists to preach the gospel. Sacraments are spiritual communications of the inner light and not rites to be externally administered. Justification is not the imputation of Christ's righteousness, nor an act of forgiveness by God, but an infusion of the inner light whereby is produced in the recipient a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God. Thus the whole regenerate life is given, constituted, and controlled by the indwelling and personal revelation of the Spirit in all men who will receive it. This doctrine suffers from two defects, which perhaps have not much affected the religious attitude of the Friends in England: it makes knowledge into the principal factor in salvation, and there is nothing necessarily Christian in that knowledge, for it is prior to and independent of the historical revelation through Jesus Christ.

19. The Methodist revival was not the product of any particular system of theology. It allied itself with both the Calvinist and the Arminian systems. Whitfield and the Welsh revivalists were Calvinists. But John Wesley repudiated the doctrine of predestination as dishonouring to God and injurious to man. He based his preaching, on the one hand, upon the universality of God's love and of the gospel call, and, on the other hand, upon man's free determination, his ability, with the grace of God, to work out his own salvation, and the possibility and danger of his falling away from grace.[1] In other respects, his teaching was in harmony with that of the Reformers and Puritans. His cardinal doctrines were justification by faith and the testimony of the Holy Spirit to the fact of justification in the believer's heart. This last idea, already noticed in the teaching of Armin and of John Goodwin, Wesley made peculiarly his own. His theology is neither systematic nor precise. On the doctrine of the Trinity he

[1] *Sermons* (ed. Jackson, 1825), lxiii., xviii.

kept an open mind as to its form. He sympathised with the inability of Servetus to use the terms *Trinity* and *Person*. 'I use them myself without any scruple, because I know of none better.' He only insists on the Scriptural text, 'There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.'[1] In a sermon on 'Now the Lord is that Spirit' he seems to identify Christ with the Holy Spirit.[2] But in the operations of the Trinity in salvation, he implies a distinction similar to Owen's: God the Holy Spirit witnesses, God the Father accepts through the merits of God the Son.[3] Justification is what God 'does for us' through the Son, and sanctification is what He 'works in us' by His Spirit.[4] The Holy Spirit is the immediate minister of God's will upon earth, and it transacts all the great affairs of the Church.[5] It is therefore the agent of the whole work of God's grace in men's hearts,—conviction, conversion, regeneration, sanctification, adoption, and all good works. Without the Spirit we can do no good work.[6] But its most precious gift, and the 'one grand part of the Testimony which God has given to [the Methodists] to bear all mankind,' is the witness of the Spirit in the believer's heart that he is a child of God. 'By the Testimony of the Spirit I mean an inward impression of the soul whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me and given Himself for me, that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God.' But neither is the witness without the fruit of the Spirit, nor the fruit without the witness.[7] Wesley was at great pains to distinguish his doctrine of the inward testimony from all kinds of popular enthusiasm, false assurance, and claims to special spiritual gifts and revelations.[8] But

[1] 1 John v. 7; omitted in R.V., W.H., etc. Wesley accepted it on the hesitating authority of Bengel. *Serm.* lx.
[2] *Serm.* cxxxviii. [3] *Serm.* lx. [4] *Serm.* v.
[5] *Serm.* cxxxv. [6] *Serm.* xvii. [7] *Serm.* x., xi.
[8] *Serm.* xxxvii.

there was no essential difference between the phenomena that attended the Methodist revival and those experienced by the Quakers and other enthusiasts.

20. Both Quakerism and Wesleyanism have a larger place in the history of religion than of theology. They belong essentially and historically to the constant succession of spiritual outbursts and religious revivals which have characterised the whole history of Protestantism, and which from time to time have saved it from arid dogmatism and formalism. As manifestations of the Spirit of God, they belong to the same category as the Pentecostal and Corinthian charismata and the Montanist prophecy. Similar phenomena were not altogether wanting in the Middle Ages. *The Friends of God* were a connecting link between Mediæval mysticism and Reformation revivalism. Within a few years of Luther's breach with Rome, Carlstadt, Caspar Schwenkfeld, the Zwickau prophets, the Mennonites, the '*Spirituels*,' the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and various types of Anabaptists that were scattered over the whole of Northern Europe, all held in common that the inner revelation of the Spirit was of higher authority than Scripture, ministry, sacrament, or any external institution or order.

In the days of the Commonwealth in England, similar doctrines were propagated by the Seekers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchy men, and other varieties of Anabaptists, and Cromwell, Milton, and other Independents were not without sympathy with their views.

21. In Germany, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, *Spener* sought to do for the Lutheran Church what Wesley attempted in the Anglican Church a generation later. Orthodox Lutheranism had settled down into a formalism which denied the need for personal experience of grace and even of piety, and had restored to the Church, her acts and sacraments, the possession and efficacy of all grace. Spener urged the absolute necessity of a personal experience of the Holy Spirit as the power of regeneration and sanctification. 'This agency of the Spirit creates

and consecrates a new personality, living, active, and free, and does not coalesce with the old Ego. . . . The Holy Spirit, on the contrary, produces, according to His purpose, the one connected life of the new personality, which is ever exercising itself in increasing sanctification.' [1]

Spener's pietism assumed a more positive and practical form in the teaching of Count Zinzendorf, and in the missionary activities of his followers, the Moravian Brethren, from whom in turn John Wesley derived some of his earliest inspiration and guidance.

22. Mysticism, experimentalism, and revivalism are not necessarily identical, but they are often associated, for they have in common that they regard as the supreme factor in religion the inward presence of the Spirit of God, either as illumination, emotion, or impulse and guide to action; and they are all so far empirical evidences of the presence and activity of God in human experience and history. But all the manifestations and doctrines of the Spirit's activity surveyed in this chapter stop short of establishing the Catholic doctrine of its person in two respects. (1) They reveal no clear principle of differentiation between the subjective states of the human mind itself, and the transcendent presence and influence of the Holy Spirit. The Protestants and Wesley made the Scriptures into the touchstone of the Spirit's presence, with the inevitable result that their followers subordinated the Spirit to the letter, and by implication almost denied its presence and authority. (2) The evidence from experience also fails to illuminate or fortify the doctrine of the Trinity and of the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, the Mennonites, the Quakers, and Wesley regarded the Greek formula with some disfavour, and nothing has here transpired, in the normal or abnormal phases of religious experience, which postulates more than the personal immanence in human experience of the one God as He is revealed in Jesus Christ.

[1] Dorner, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 203-26; Noesgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-14.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

FOUR factors in the historical development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit stand out as crucial: the succession of experiences, normal and abnormal, assigned to its agency, during the whole course of Hebrew and Christian religion; the co-ordination of the Spirit with God the Father and with Jesus Christ in Pauline theology, and the consequent formation of the threefold baptismal formula and creed; the philosophical interpretation of the three names in the doctrine of the Trinity, of one nature in three persons, by Athanasius and the Cappadocians, and its Western adaptation and completion as a symmetrical Trinity by Augustine; and the delimitation of distinct spheres of operation corresponding to the metaphysical distinction of persons, by the Reformers and Puritans.

The validity of the traditional doctrine in this final form may now be brought to the double test of logic and of truth. Was the process of thought by which each successive stage was derived from the other itself logically valid, and does the result agree with the totality of truth as it is now apprehended? The delimitation of three spheres of operation was a legitimate inference from the metaphysical distinction of persons. If God subsisted in three persons, and if that tri-personality was to have any significance for human experience, He must be conceived as three distinct sources and modes of operation. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' But such specialisation of divine operation is inconsistent with the universal immanence of God in

the world and in human experience. The Father and the Son tend to be removed in Deistic fashion, to a transcendent realm apart from the world; and although the Deism is partially overcome by the affirmation of the indwelling and working of the Spirit, it is at the risk of making the Spirit a separate and subordinate Deity. This inadequacy of the practical application of the doctrine of three persons drives us back to question the validity of that doctrine itself.

We have noticed that the metaphysical doctrine of the Trinity was a development of the doctrine of the Logos to conform to the creed, which confessed three divine names. The Logos doctrine itself involved only that God had in Himself a principle of revelation which went forth out of Him and became incarnate in Jesus Christ. But in the creed, the Spirit stood with the Son, and therefore the scheme of the Logos idea was adapted to interpret the relation of the Spirit to the Father. And when the deity of the Son was defined, it became necessary to affirm the co-equal and consubstantial deity of the Spirit, for if one name confessed in the creed might be inferior in nature and status to the supreme God, so might the other be. The doctrine of salvation demanded the deity of the Son, for none but God could save; and the deity of the Spirit was a necessary inference from, and confirmation of, the deity of the Son. It was, however, the Latin and not the Greek theologians who placed the second and third persons in complete equality with God, and so completed the symmetry of the Trinity, and they did it in obedience to the authority of the traditional creed.

We are thus brought back to the second stage, the co-ordination of the three names in the language of worship and symbol. Jewish thought had conceived the Holy Spirit as the form or hypostasis of God's self-revelation and operation in the world. The Christian Church inherited the idea and attributed to the Spirit

its own specific experiences, first abnormal and then normal. But side by side with this traditional belief grew the new conviction that Jesus Christ had risen from the dead, that He still lived not only in heaven, but also in the Church, and that He was the author of the new life and the mediator of the believer's communion with God. The two conceptions tended to merge into one another and to be identified with one another, and the Spirit became one of the predicates of Christ, which exalted Him into the divine society. But while the functions and conceptions of Christ and the Spirit were indistinguishable, the names remained distinct, and became the cause of all subsequent attempts to distinguish between the living Christ and the Holy Spirit as two distinct persons. The use of three names, and the consequent doctrine of three persons, were therefore the product rather of apostolic language than of apostolic thought or experience. And theology at first interpreted the thought rather than the language, and included both Christ and the Spirit under the category of the Logos. It was not till the fourth century that the authority of the language prevailed so far as to establish in theology, consciously and permanently, the conception of three distinct persons in one nature; and the logical consequences of the doctrine in history and experience, the differentiation of divine functions, corresponding to the distinction of persons, was only completed in the seventeenth century. The development of the doctrine does not appear, therefore, to have been due to any obvious logical necessity. The apostles felt no need to draw a hard and fast distinction between the Spirit and the exalted Lord. The Fathers distinguished the Logos from the Spirit only because the two names were current. The Puritans distinguished three spheres of divine operation, because their traditional theology affirmed three distinct divine persons.

And no sooner was the doctrine completed than modern speculation began to question its validity. The Greek

formula—one nature in three persons—was stated in terms that have so radically changed their meanings, that it does not convey the same idea to the modern mind as it did to its authors. Besides that terms like nature and substance express very inadequately the modern conception of the living God, personality in modern thought contains in itself all that is most necessary and essential in any spiritual being, and especially in God. It is not a quality of the divine nature, but the divine nature itself. It is the highest category of spiritual being. And however difficult the Greek and Latin fathers found it to speak of three hypostases without thinking of three gods, it is still more difficult to think of three persons, in the modern sense, included in one person. Further investigation into the nature of personality may yet perhaps reveal within it the possibility of even more complex being than either Greeks or moderns supposed, and so may reinstate a plurality in unity within the conception of deity, in a more adequate way than the traditional doctrine.

But the first tendency of modern thought was to turn away from the complexity and contradiction of the Greek formula to some simpler idea, like Socinianism or Sabellianism.[1] Such simplicity was soon felt to be inadequate to interpret the complexity both of general and of religious experience. From Hegel to the present day, various attempts have therefore been made to form a conception of God that includes such differences and distinctions as the Christian doctrine of the Trinity implies. God must be conceived, it is argued, not as mere abstract unity, but as 'a Being who combines in His nature absolute unity with equally essential differences and distinctions.' God cannot be less than man, and He therefore must possess the conditions of intellectual and moral life. Intelligence or self-consciousness 'includes of necessity two inseparable elements, a self or subject which thinks, and an object which is thought of—not to speak of a third

[1] Schleiermacher, *Der Christliche Glaube*, §§ 170-72.

element, the unity or one-ness of these two.'[1] Again, God as moral Being is love, and love is social; therefore God must be a society in which the relations of love and moral reciprocity are real. And as God is self-subsistent and self-sufficient, He cannot depend upon His creatures for the conditions of His spiritual being; He must therefore have eternally within Himself such differences and distinctions as are indispensable to a real and concrete life of intellect and love.[2]

These speculations show that the problem of One in many is not peculiar to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but a condition of all reality, and the higher we ascend in the scale of reality, the more manifestly it is the synthesis of unity and plurality. The Absolute differentiates and realises itself in the manifold being of the universe and of history; in other words, God, in order to be known, has in Himself a principle of revelation which goes forth from Him and manifests Him in creation and history. Yet this falls short of establishing the doctrine of the Trinity in several respects. (*a*) It does not define the One and the many in a way that shows how the One can and ought to include a plurality of persons. If the analogy of the intellectual life be pressed, it leads in a Sabellian direction, and gives two or three aspects of one person. If the idea of God as love, and therefore as a society, be adopted, it leads to tritheism or pluralism. Theology, like philosophy, remains still balanced on the dilemma between monism and pluralism. (*b*) The plurality which is postulated does not define itself as Three. The Hegelian formula, like the Logos doctrine, rather suggests two than three, subject and object, God and His Son, for the Spirit is only the relation of unity and reconciliation between the Two, and a relation is nothing in itself. The idea of

[1] John Caird, *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, p. 65. The essential points of the Hegelian doctrine of the Trinity are developed in Lectures III., VI., and VII. See Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion*, Part III., E. tr., vol. ii. pp. 327-58, vol. iii. pp. 1-151.

[2] Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 385-400.

God as a society of love, on the other hand, might imply an infinite plurality; the more numerous the society, the more perfect the love. And it is only Christian tradition that limits the divine society to Three, but it has been shown that the earliest Christian tradition is uncertain as to whether it is the society of Two or of Three. At least, the metaphysics of deity, so far as it has been developed, does not of itself yield a very satisfactory doctrine of the Holy Spirit. (c) Although these speculative trinities may, to some extent, satisfy the demand of philosophy for a conception of ultimate reality as a plurality in unity, and may so far show that the general principle of the dogma of the Trinity is supported by the demand of all philosophy, yet they are abstract and unrelated to any facts of Christian history or experience. The trinity of thought, of subject, object and relation, has no point of contact with any specifically Christian experience. It does not profess to issue out of the historical manifestation of God, either in the person of Jesus Christ, or in those empirical phenomena which the Christian Church has attributed to the operation of the Holy Spirit. The trinity of love has been related to the filial consciousness of Jesus Christ, wherein God manifests Himself in the communion of Father and Son, but the historical consciousness of Jesus does not reveal the person of the Holy Spirit as a member of the divine society; and indeed no attempt has been made to establish any necessary connection between the divine society of love and the twofold operation of God in the world, in the persons of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

The attempts of Christian theology to adapt metaphysical systems to the interpretation of the creed have so far proved inadequate. The Logos theology derived from Greek idealism no doubt did satisfy the intellectual demands of the patristic age, but it failed most signally to afford a rational basis for such experiences as had been associated with the Holy Spirit, and it had the effect almost of suppres-

sing the idea and the experiences. Recent theories based upon the Hegelian philosophy have proved no more successful in assimilating the distinctive conception of the Holy Spirit to a system of ultimate reality. They produce either an abstract deity wherein the Holy Spirit is only a logical relation, or an indefinite plurality where the Spirit is only one of the many who are not divine. Hegel's system was perhaps badly adapted for the purpose, for it has been strongly disputed whether it really admitted any belief in God in the theistic sense.[1]

But no other metaphysics offers a conception of reality corresponding to the Christian idea of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Pluralism has room for innumerable spirits, and it might elevate one or more of them into gods, but they would be gods of polytheism. Therefore the Ritschlian polemic against all metaphysics of religion has found much acceptance, and the attempt to construe the universe in terms of the Christian revelation has been arrested. But men, and even Ritschlians, will theorise, and thought will gather its ideas into a unity. Hence at present, men's working theories of the universe and their religious faith are widely divorced from each other, much to the detriment of both.

The Holy Spirit still works in the world, but our framework of thought does not help us to recognise in its working the supreme love of Christ and the power of the God of the universe. Religious life is weak, perplexed and unstable, because it has no clear dogma to relate its experiences to the whole of reality. A religious revival swept over Wales ten years ago, and its effects for a while were mighty, holy and gracious, but soon the exalted and purified emotions subsided, and old habits of life and thought reasserted themselves with increased vigour. The new experiences in the revival were isolated fragments which lacked the support of a stable attitude towards the whole of reality. They were attributed sometimes to

[1] James Ward: *The Realm of Ends*, Lect. viii.

Christ, and sometimes to the Holy Spirit, but the notions which these names signified were poor and confused. They did not serve to assimilate the revival experiences to the whole working of God. The results of 'evangelism' are generally of the same transient character, and for the same reason. Christian experience needs a doctrine of the Holy Spirit which can bring to its isolated inspirations the conscious strength of the almighty love of God.

And the persistence of the idea of the Spirit, and the long succession of experiences, normal and abnormal, which men have attributed to its agency, continue to challenge thought to find their interpretation. Some recent speculations, setting out from Christian experience, have sought to find a place for the Spirit by defining it as the Spirit of the Christian community,[1] or of the Beloved Community, of the ideal church.[2] These ideas too may be traced to Hegel's conception of the absolute Spirit,[3] and they are closely akin to the mediæval conception of the Catholic Church, but it is now personified as a social self, a communal personality, which is postulated over and above the individual persons which constitute the community, and then in some sense identified with the Holy Spirit or the living Christ, which are still not distinguished. Whatever truth may be in these ideas in themselves, they contribute little or nothing to the solution of the problem of the Spirit, regarded as a person in the Trinity. They use the term Holy Spirit for something quite different from its traditional meaning, because Christian experience at all times testifies that the Spirit is God at once transcendent and immanent in religious experience, and not a spirit of the community which may be called indifferently God, Christ, or Holy Spirit.

Christian experience in itself, in so far as it has been analysed, affords no evidence of a definite activity of the Spirit, as a distinct person or operation of God. In

[1] Ritschl, see Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology*, pp. 337 ff.
[2] Royce, *The Problem of Christianity*. [3] James Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff.

recent years, the content and deliverances of religious experience, both normal and abnormal, have been subjected to re-examination by the methods of present-day psychological study. The process has not yet got beyond a general conclusion of the reality of man's spiritual communion with a higher spiritual universe, but it has formulated no principles to define the nature and limits of the two universes, nor does it shed any light upon the mode or modes of existence in the higher universe.[1]

It is hazardous to generalise about the evidence of the religious consciousness, until its content has been more closely observed and analysed than it has been, but a tentative impression derived from hymns, prayers, and confessions may be recorded, that God and Christ are more frequently named and more vividly realised in communion and experience than the Holy Spirit. To this may be added the testimony of so representative an observer of religious experience as Dr. R. F. Horton, who, in defending the doctrine of the Trinity, writes: 'I will not say that the separate activity of the Holy Spirit is in the Christian experience as obvious as the distinction between Father and Son. It cannot even be maintained that in experience the Spirit is presented as a *person* separated from Christ. When we treat the Spirit as a third person, it is rather on the ground that Christ spoke about another Comforter like unto Himself,[2] than on the ground of a datum of spiritual experience. It does not appear that any one has had a vision or conception of the Spirit in personal form, as some have had of God, and many have had of Christ.'[3]

For experience, the doctrine of the Spirit has ever meant the personal immanence of God as illumining and quickening power, the awakening of the mind to larger and clearer visions of the truth, and the turning of the heart to peace with God, and to a life of holiness and love.

[1] William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), pp. 485 ff.
[2] See p. 105 ff., *supra*.
[3] *The Trinity*, p. 8 (London, 1901).

Christian theology and Christian experience so far, then, give us on the one hand the differentiation within God of a revelation Spirit which goes forth from Him as infinite and eternal source into the world, and on the other hand, the indwelling of the divine Spirit in man as transcendent power, influence, and communion descended from above. But whether this Spirit is the living Christ who promised to be ever present with His disciples, or another divine presence, is a question which theology has scarcely attempted to answer. If the Spirit is conceived as another divine presence, distinct and different from Christ, operating as a distinct activity and in a different province of religious experience, it so far ceases to be the Spirit of Christ, and the presence and activity of Christ are therefore neither universal, nor co-extensive with religious experience. If, on the other hand, Christianity is the universal and final religion, if all knowledge and communion and action of God are mediated to men through Jesus Christ, then the Holy Spirit for Christian thought and experience cannot be separate or distinct from Christ Himself, in His living presence and power in the hearts of men, and the Church burdens itself in vain with the formula of three hypostases which it inherited from Greek theology.

As philosophy no longer construes God in terms of essence and hypostasis, epistemology does not explain the origin and process of knowledge as inspiration and revelation, and ethics does not define the moral life as justification, regeneration and sanctification. These peculiar terms of the theology of the Spirit are being ousted from the familiar and effective language of our time, and, with them, there is danger that the force and quality of the peculiar facts they denoted may be lost to men.

To replace them by a general doctrine of divine immanence, and by the abstract principles of general ethics will be to abandon the specifically Christian approach to the interpretation of the content of man's moral and intellectual life.

There is a need, therefore, for a restatement of the doctrine of the Spirit, which has, however inadequately, stood for a Christian view of the relation of God to man's mind and conduct, and a restatement in terms of the more personal and concrete conception of God, and of the more empirical interpretation of knowledge and morality which the modern mind has gained. And the doctrine of the Spirit in these terms needs to embody more than it has done hitherto the central truth of Christianity as it stands in the person of Jesus Christ.

Theology, in the doctrine of the Spirit, has preserved something of the facts of God's dealing with man, and has revealed the vastness of the problem which they present to the human mind, but it has scarcely improved upon Paul's conception that 'the Lord (Jesus Christ) is the Spirit.' In Christ, God goes forth out of Himself, through Christ He reveals and communicates Himself to men, and in Christ He dwells and works in human experience as Father and Saviour and God of all grace. But Christ thus conceived is not merely a man who lived within the limitations of one point in the distant past, but Christ exalted and endowed with all the attributes of the ancient Hebrew conception of the Holy Spirit, Christ uniting in Himself the loving affinities of our common humanity and the transcendent holiness and all-sufficient grace of the Eternal God, Christ the Holy Spirit who proceeds eternally from the Father and dwells for ever with His saints.[1]

[1] See W. L. Walker, *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, pp. 334-37.

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